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NO. 346 CONVENT AVENUE, NEW YORK**

UNITED STATES CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES

**THOMAS F. MEEHAN, STEPHEN FARRELLY
REV. JOSEPH F. DELANY, D. D.**

Editing Committee

VOLUME XV

MARCH, 1921

**NEW YORK
THE UNITED STATES CATHOLIC
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
1921**

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CATHOLIC HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES

A SLIGHT APPRECIATION OF JAMES ALPHONSUS McMASTER

BY MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN

*Paper read at the General Meeting of the Society, February 9,
1921*

It is with great diffidence that I undertake to make a sketch, or rather a silhouette of James Alphonsus McMaster with whom I was associated in conducting the *New York Freeman's Journal* for more than six years. I used the word "appreciation" in its real sense, for I am not here to praise Mr. McMaster, but to present him as I saw him. Unhappily, our acquaintance began at a time when he had passed beyond that maturity of thought and that vigor of work which made him a great power in this country, from the year 1848 until the beginning of the Civil War. Then the position which he took, which was that of a rigid advocate of State Rights, against President Lincoln weakened his hold on the public, though there was a large minority which still accepted his dicta with respect and enjoyed enormously his habit of hitting a head whenever he saw it raised above the crowd.

In order to explain the inadequate character of this sketch I must say that when Mr. McMaster asked me in 1880 to become his associate editor, I was rather a young man, brought up in a very different school from the one in which he had attained all his experience. I had very little knowledge of his traditions, no sympathy with his prejudices, but I had an overwhelming reverence for his steadfastness in the Catholic Church, to which he had become a convert in 1845, and a strong belief in his fundamental honesty and his essential goodness of heart.

After Mr. McMaster's imprisonment by the Federal Government in Fort Lafayette, an episode in life which he always con-

sidered glorious,—the publication of the New York *Freeman's Journal* was resumed. Before that time it had been something more than a newspaper written for Catholics; it had appealed to the intellectual Americans on many subjects of general interest; but as time went on the sympathies of McMaster became narrower; he reached a lesser body of readers, and some of his admirers were repelled by his growing violence even in the statement of truths that needed to be stated: So, in 1880, he had come to need what he called "new blood." Mr. Marc F. Vallette, a distinguished scholar and a Christian gentleman of a meekness and kindness which enabled him to endure the enthusiasms of the editor of the *Freeman's Journal*, found an opportunity for making his career in the work of the public schools. It was evident that there could be no career for any man in assisting to help in the conduct of Mr. McMaster's *Journal* if he was too fully saturated with the gifts of the Holy Ghost. Possessed in a very moderate degree they might be a help; and, probably knowing this, Mr. McMaster one day suddenly asked me to associate myself with him. In fact, he said that if somebody with a fluent pen and an irreverent fear of consequences and what the French call *malice*, did not help him, his beloved *Journal* was bound to go on the rocks. As I was so situated as not to be entirely dependent on any stipend that he could pay me, I determined to take the risk; and I must say that, although he had a fiery temper, and I tried his patience over and over again by outraging his prejudices, forgetting his principles, and, through sheer ignorance and carelessness, ignoring his traditions, his patience and consideration were marvelous.

He reminded me of a great piece of organ music, made up of a thousand erratic harmonics, but always returning safely to the original theme, which was Faith. Besides, if McMaster really liked a man, he stuck to him through thick and thin. Vagaries were condoned by him in a friend, which he would never have forgiven in his nearest neighbor. It was the same with institutions. I fancy that the Redemptorist Fathers might have done anything short of denying their vows, or doubting the infallibility of the Pope, and he would have still looked on them as a body of impeccable saints. But let a good Jesuit forget to put on rose-colored vestments on Laetare Sunday and his name was anathema. As for the Paulists, in spite of his acknowledged obligation to Mr. George Hecker, the brother of Father Hecker, he looked on them

as a body of priests who at any moment might lapse into the most frightful kind of Pelagianism, or even Ontologism! Whenever I visited Father Hecker or Father Hewitt, he warned me to look out for "Americanism."

When I came to know him his circle of friends had become small. His devoted wife, who had been born of the Fetterman family of Pennsylvania, was dead. His son, Alphonsus, was in the seminary for postulants at Illchester. His eldest daughter had already entered the Congregation of the Holy Childhood, and his two other daughters, admirably educated and charming girls, were quietly getting ready to join the Carmelites. His group of friends consisted mainly of Mr. Patrick Farrelly, Colonel John McAnerney and Major John D. Keiley, who I think with Mr. Harold Henwood formed the nucleus of the St. Michael's Association, on which McMaster depended when he was interested in any charitable work, or, indeed, for any movement by which the interests of the Church might be furthered.

Nearly all the polemical foes worthy of his steel had disappeared; but he lived with them still in memory, and many hours I spent in listening over and over again to the accounts of his battles on questions of theology and philosophy with Orestes A. Brownson, Bishop Hughes, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, Dr. White, Dr. Corcoran, the two Purcells, Bishop Kenrick, and several others whose opinions were explained to me as subversive, at one time or other, of intellectual integrity, the dogmas of the Catholic Church, and, at least, "offensive to pious ears." I was especially warned against Brownson, for some of whose writings I had a high regard. Brownson, McMaster always said, was an Ontologist of the most dangerous kind. Indeed at one of those pleasant breakfasts of the older days, when these Intellectuals enjoyed themselves thoroughly, he was compelled, by the strictest justice and charity, to thrust his fist under Brownson's chin and to demand, in a tone which he imitated in a terrible voice—"Have you seen God?" This I was always led to believe was one of McMaster's greatest triumphs.

The circumstances of his birth, of his race, of his education explain very well the character of this greatly devout and courageous man. Speaking of him one day, when somebody was complaining that all his feelings had been outraged by a McMasterly attack on them, Archbishop Ryan laughed, and said: "He is a Scotch High-

lander, with a touch of Calvinism not yet sponged out of him." And this was very illuminating. What a tremendously turbulent Chief of a Clan McMaster would have made in the time of the Stuarts, for he loved all lost causes, and he was a rebel to the core of his heart. What he might have been, and he feared this very humbly himself, if he had not become a Catholic, I can easily imagine, but I always hated to do it.

James Alphonsus McMaster was born April 1, 1820, at Duanesburg, New York. His father was a Presbyterian minister of the old school, devoted to the Westminster Catechism, to predestination, and all the horrors of that kind of Calvinism which make fear the rule of life. He had a great pride in his son; he wanted him to be his successor in the Kirk, and, according to McMaster's own testimony, forced him, at a very early age, to begin his studies in Latin and Greek, and to become a careful student of the Sacred Scriptures. McMaster's father had a great respect for his family and for his pedigree, and, like most Scots, seemed to have had an unconscious admiration for the character of Lucifer in Milton's *Paradise Lost*. To be a Scot in blood, to be a Presbyterian in faith, was in the opinion of this worthy gentleman requisite to an American of the elect class. Young McMaster inherited the point of view of his father, and one of his faults was a profound belief, in spite of his religious humility, that the qualities of the elect softened by the influence of the Catholic Church made the very bloom of life.

The processes by which McMaster became a Catholic were traced by him with a sentiment of profound gratitude. In speaking of his conversion, the fine spirituality of the man always came out. It was then that he was as humble as a child, and he showed none of that intellectual haughtiness which became almost insolence and arrogance when he began to teach or to propound his theses to anybody who opposed him.

His tone toward the public with which he dealt, is well expressed in a letter which he wrote in 1848 to Brownson, appropos of Brownson's criticism of one of Father Newman's essays on the "Development of Christian Dogma." He makes the condition, as you will see, that if he is to support Brownson's *Review*, Brownson *must* agree to let the topic of the Development alone, since McMaster cannot agree with him. This was the expression of an attitude, which, in almost any argument, he retained to the last. You were

either with him or against him, and, especially if you were a Bishop, if you were against him, you were wrong:

"If Catholics in this country," he wrote, "had enough of intellectual candor to like what is good, and to distinguish what is not so, I do not know that I should care to change the issue—but unfortunately name and reputation is, in this country, everything. And whether it be sermon or novel what has lost its prestige has lost its value. Your *Review* is certainly calculated to do a great deal of good, and as experience has taught me that, however worthless I may be in myself, my opinions have always had influence and produced effect, when I have expressed them strongly, I am unwilling not to favor the circulation and consideration of your *Review*. I am going, therefore, to exert myself in its favor—but I want to beg you to let alone that unfortunate topic, which has done you more hurt, and in more ways than you know of."

After his conversion he felt himself called to the religious life and he went to Belgium and joined the Congregation of the Holy Redeemer as a postulant and novice. His superiors helped him to discover that he had no vocation, and they urged him to go back to the United States and to undertake the defense of the Faith through his writings, which they considered him well fitted to do. McMaster really loved his associates in Belgium; he seldom spoke of some of them without tears in his eyes. They were models of holy living; they were models of exact learning, and, to the day of his death, he admired the Redemptorists more and more, and always chose one of the Congregation as a confessor. Others of his fellow-Catholics might have faults, but the Redemptorists were chosen of God, and there is no doubt that to their influence was due the taming of his proud spirit, so far as it could be tamed. But at times, it seemed to me, as if the taming of this spirit, very noble in its very pride, was somewhat like hooking Job's leviathan. Once in New York, he began to write in the *Tribune* and other daily papers, and he likewise contributed to the New York *Freeman's Journal*, then the property of Bishop Hughes.

During his sojourn in Union College, to which institution his father had sent him in order to prepare him for the ministry, he had come in contact with many young men who were later to be connected with him in his relations with the problems of social life. He had not been graduated from the College, but his preceptors and his fellow students had evidently a very high opinion

of his ability; and President Nott, and Governor Seward, who united with Bishop Hughes on the Catholic side of the education question, found in him a very sound and able assistant. It was quite in keeping with his views that the school system of New York, which had originally been denominational, should continue to be Christian, and that if the schools were to be free, the Catholics should have a part in their advantages. He fought with tremendous strength and energy for this. Later, after the War, his fight against free schools without religion, "Godless schools," as he called them, was never a moment relaxed. Down to 1860—he had bought the New York *Freeman's Journal* from Bishop Hughes in 1848—the burning topics of Know Nothingism, Slavery, State Rights, and the political questions preceding the War had occupied him, but the one central idea of his polemics was the right of the child to have a Christian education. Other topics might change their aspect to his mind or cease to interest him, but, if we have a system of Parochial Schools worthy of the highest praise in the Archdiocese of New York today, it is very largely due to the persistent efforts of James Alphonsus McMaster. It is true that his methods were not gentle; he astounded moderate men by accusing them of Latitudinarianism and by fracturing their skulls with his big stick. He certainly was a factor in the power of preventing men from taking the wrong path because he threw a fierce white light on the right one.

In March, 1848, McMaster had had the intention to begin the publication of a new magazine to be called the *Ave Maria*. He gave this up when Bishop Hughes offered him the chance to buying the New York *Freeman's Journal*. His view, however, of what he intended to do in the gentle pages of the *Ave Maria* is clearly expressed in one of his letters to Brownson, with whom he was then on exceedingly friendly terms:

"I need not say to you that I am determined it shall not interfere with the sphere of interest of your *Review*. Did I believe it could at all do so, I would not think of starting it on any account. There is a certain monthly magazine (The *U. S. Catholic Magazine*, of Baltimore), however, with whose success, *Deo favente*, it may materially interfere. Indeed, my object is to make it do the work which the other does not do, though some of us think it ought to have done so. My affair is intended to be practical, simple, ascetical, and edifying for such good people as are not overstocked with

brains, or at least, not trained to following theological discussions. Namby-pambyism, *Baltimoreism*, and kindred miseries it will perhaps wail over in private, may sigh over in a voice still audible—not more, but, above all, will carefully avoid in its own practice.”

To the end he looked on “*Baltimoreism*” as a necessary evil, intensified by the unnecessary tradition, which he always scorned that Baltimore was the primatial See. In another letter, before he bought the *Freeman's Journal*, he expressed his intention of founding an independent paper with a purely secular title. He says of it, in relation to an approval by Bishop Hughes:

“I may shock you awfully, but I do not consider that it appertains any more to his jurisdiction than to arrange the colors of the coats I shall wear during the summer! To render this more clear, I shall take a purely secular title, such as *New York Times*, or any better one that we may think of or, if you will, you suggest in the meantime. I hope for it a wide circulation, as it is to have no diocesan trammels nor responsibilities; and as it is to give the news oftener, fuller, and more correctly than the lumbering things that they call ‘Irish papers.’ Our friend, George Hecker, is interested, and volunteers to advance, or if need be, lose the money necessary in the undertaking.”

When McMaster had completed his arrangement for buying the New York *Freeman's Journal* he gave Bishop Hughes reason to repent of his bargain. Speaking again to Brownson of his plans for the paper, he said:

“Generally, of course, it is thought I am too hot and too heavy—and in truth I have no idea of keeping up so much excitement as is raised about it just now. But, in the first place, I want to increase its circulation, and I find this just the way to do it, as nobody who is anybody likes to miss seeing a paper that presents each week among other dishes one or two roasts. And in the second place I knew as well as you did that the Irish never respect a man till he appeals to their cowardice, and I want to give them a most respectful threshing. The late humbug about Ireland presented an admirable opportunity, and if it had not been for the cowardice of one Irishman I would now be occupying a higher place in Irish estimation than I do. But unfortunately that Irishman was Bishop of New York; and he prevented me following up the anti-riot and murder lines on which I set out. It was to no purpose that I demonstrated to him the certainty of the insurrection turning out ‘in

one or two riots put down by the police without the interference of the military,' in which my very words came true. And equally little use was it to show him that the present indignation of the barbarians would be succeeded by a veneration equally exorbitant when the hopes would be so bitterly and laughably disappointed."

In 1881, he had somewhat changed his mind about the Irish. He never understood them and he had no interest in Home Rule or the Irish political question in general. He gave me *carte blanche*, and, provided that I did not approve of dynamite or the Fenians, I might use my right, guaranteed in the beginning, to say what I chose; all I can recall now is that my general thesis was "Ireland for the Irish," and that I was hotly against the Nationalization of the Land, which Michael Davitt had proposed.

The treatment of personalities was not at all in my line; I never could identify a personality with a principle, and this, I think, my chief looked on as a great defect. I set myself right in the beginning by declaring that I was no theologian and very little of a philosopher. To this last Mr. McMaster agreed heartily, as he knew that I had acquired what philosophy I knew in the presence of Father Guida at Georgetown College. As to theology, he said, quite humbly, "I am not a great theologian, but I probably know where to find the sources of theological knowledge as well as any other man." The worst thing he ever said to me, when occasionally he read the proof of a leader, was that "people would laugh at me." As I knew personally very few of the readers of the *Journal*, it never occurred to me to be concerned as to whether they laughed or not; but when an article pleased him, his enthusiasm was very great. He then told me that I was "uncorrupted by modern Liberalism," and he wondered how I could have escaped since I was openly an admirer of Dupanloup and Montalambert. It often struck me as a strange anomaly that while both McMaster and Brownson were essentially devoted to the free institutions of the United States, they looked on democracy in any other country as a manifestation that would be likely to lead to all manner of heresy.

One of the lost causes that McMaster advocated with all his heart was that of Don Carlos, the Spanish pretender. He threw his whole force into this development of foreign affairs. He seemed not at all desirous to convince any of his readers intellectually of the value of the possible reign of King Carlos; he was only eager to secure followers; and I recall the pleasure and amuse-

ment he showed when he received a round robin, signed by half a dozen names, from a remote Western town, announcing, "Three cheers for Dan Collins! We're all with you! Keep it up!" In fact, the approbation of the simplest reader gave him greater pleasure than the approbation of the most erudite. The erudite, in fact, wrote their approbations at their own risk, because Mr. McMaster was as likely as not to discover some defect in their theology or philosophy which might bring his thunder upon them. But we were always in danger from the critics ourselves. Once, when I had printed a sonnet—Mr. McMaster always warned me against poetry, as Mr. John Boyle O'Reilly warned me against "mixing too much humor in my editorials," beginning "There were no flowers till the first child died," various theologians, "amateurs" Mr. McMaster called them, took up the cudgels for me. How he extricated me I do not remember, but his language was such that the critics were effectively silenced. He told me many times that he had given up writing poetry on the day he entered the Church, and that most Catholics, he gave Father Faber as an example, ought to be too much occupied with serious matters to trouble the world with inefficient versification. I must say that he was always frank.

On the matter of the temporal power of the Pope, he was as adamant; he was an ultra-Montane of the ultra-Montanes. As far as I could understand he would admit of no compromise, and, I think, he was quite at one with Brownson in defending the indirect temporal power in language which might sometimes be misunderstood by non-Catholics. He never forgave those prelates who had questioned the opportuneness of the definition of the doctrine of Infallibility. That they had submitted in the end made no difference at all. He never grew weary of repeating scornfully that the Bishop of Little Rock had in vain butted his head against the Big Rock. And, though he was always an obedient and humble son of the Church, he was, I fancied, somewhat doubtful of the merely personal worthiness of Pope Leo XIII.

The leaning of this very great Pope toward the French Republic was not enough to account for this; and I discovered, after some probing, that he based his distrust on the assertion that the Holy Father had quoted a line from Catullus in one of his Encyclicals! When I say he was a humble Catholic I mean it. It was only necessary for the voice of the Church, or of his confessor, to speak on

any point, and he was on his knees at once. But I must admit that the Scottish cast of his mind made him very hard to convince on certain points. He prided himself on his exact knowledge of the Latin language, and I have heard him say that Archbishop Corrigan, who was one of the Bishops he admired without reservation, was one of the few American Latinists who knew the language of the ancient Romans thoroughly. If he could pick a flaw in anybody's Latin, he was delighted, and he expressed his opinion without reserve.

It is interesting to compare the very clear and well modulated English style of McMaster, in his earlier days, with that which he unfortunately adopted during the last ten or twelve years of his life. While he was living, I would not have dared to compare him to Carlyle, whose manner of writing English was as plain an affectation as Walt Whitman's manner of writing verse; but in his later days his tendency to force attention even by exaggeration was evident. He used capitals; he used italics; he broke up his sentences with innumerable dashes, which gave his utterances a sensational appearance which was rather deplorable. He excused himself to me once by saying that he had never learned "to point" properly, and consequently his punctuation was necessarily defective. But I discovered that, when he was younger, there seemed to be no fault in the method of punctuation he used. He knew the English language well, and he could write it well. He was very much of a purist in style, and, when he could control my style, he did it with a rod of iron; but I escaped him only too often, and I realized, from his deep groans and lamentations and objurgations on the day after the *Journal* appeared how constantly I violated his ideas of proper English expression. His list of objectionable words was almost as long as that made by another purist, to whom I owe a great deal, Mr. Charles A. Dana, Editor of the *New York Sun*.

McMaster loved Rome, and the "perfume of Rome," a phrase he often quoted from his favorite colleague, Louis Veuillot, the Editor of the Paris *Univers*. He was practically the founder of the first American Pilgrimage to Rome. He felt that the splendor of the Eternal City would naturally increase the faith of American Catholics, and be a demonstration to the infidel or indifferent Italian that there was in the United States a great body of Americans whose hearts burned with loyalty for the Pope and King—for,

while McMaster was quite willing to acknowledge the right of the King of Savoy to reign over his own dominions, or over Italy, with Florence as the capital, he would not acknowledge any other king of the dominions of the Pope except the Pope himself. In 1880, as I have said, McMaster's older philosophical opponents had ceased to write with their old energy. The case of Rosmini was settled, the opinions of Gioberti were to him negligible, and when Leo XIII. settled vexed questions by his attitude on the Thomistic philosophy, McMaster looked in vain for any head to be raised above the ground which he could hit in defense of that philosophy. The matter nearest his heart then became the School Question; and on that he continued to use all his energy. He had made a good fight for Catholic principles; he had made it with violence; he had never spared his strength, and this lack of the conservation of his forces told on him as he grew older. He was a fighter, a Christian soldier, by instinct, by temperament and by conviction; and when the many causes for which he had fought were either won or lost, his interest in life grew less and less. His one source of happiness was in the knowledge of the religious vocation of his daughters, and in the hope that some day his only son might follow them. Faith with him was a natural reality; and no devout religious in the Middle Ages could have lived more constantly in the presence of God, and his saints than did McMaster. Toward the end of his life, his model was Grignon de Montfort. He knew nearly all the ascetic precepts of this master of devotion by heart. He practised mortification constantly and wore next to his skin a hair shirt, and this was only discovered after his death. There were times when the income of the New York *Freeman's Journal* made a certain economy necessary; but I discovered that at these times, and that, when there were extra demands made on his purse, he never intermitted his almsgiving nor did he cease to send his usual checks as *honoraria* for the celebration of certain Masses. I often felt that my attitude toward McMaster was that of rather a limited mind that could not understand the altitude to which his soul soared. *Les défauts de ses qualités* were apparent, but these defects were comparatively small in proportion to his great virtues. On essential principles, he was always right. His method of presenting them to his public was one of the defects, perhaps, of this transcendently great quality.

That he is almost forgotten now, except by a small group of

those who loved and revered him, is due to the fact of his *obiter dicta* rather than to the essence of his teachings, and the biographer who will separate the chaff from the wheat will do the cause of the Catholic Church in this country a real service. The history of the development of McMaster from his conversion until the later '70's is a history of the important Catholic movements of the world, and of their reflex action on a mind that was sensitively attuned to receive it. It is true that neither McMaster nor Brownson left a school, or even a small coterie of disciples. The Catholic world has moved away from them; but our Catholic world cannot escape the influence of these very distinguished, sincere and disinterested men.

At the risk of making this paper too long, there is one piece of testimony that I should like to record. The New York *Freeman's Journal*, even to the end, that is, to the death of McMaster, had great influence in certain quarters. Politicians of all parties knew this very well; and the inducements offered to McMaster to turn his *Journal* into a political machine for propaganda were numerous and would have been tempting to a lesser man. He never for a moment was tempted, and knowing his inside history, I can honestly say that no man could ever in his position have been, in relation to such sordid temptations, more honest and honorable.

After his death I found myself burdened with the responsibility of a periodical which had been a personal organ; I saw clearly that a new departure must be made; I saw clearly, too, the plan for such a departure. Capital was not lacking, and among those who offered to finance the paper and to give most valuable assistance were Mr. Patrick Farrelly and Mr. W. R. Grace; but without a competent business manager, I hesitated to risk other people's capital; and I chose the alternative, which was much censured by my friends, of turning the *Journal* over to Mr. John McMaster, who sold it to the highest bidder, who was Mr. Ford of the *Irish World*. I still continued to believe that the New York *Freeman's Journal* without McMaster—he died on December 20, 1886,—would have been like "Hamlet" with the part of the Prince of Denmark left out.

JOHN ROSE GREENE HASSARD

BY BLANCHE MARY KELLY, LITT. D.

JOHN ROSE GREENE HASSARD, who has most frequently and happily been described by the phrase, "scholar and gentleman," was born in New York city, September 4, 1836. He was the son of Thomas Hassard, a Protestant of Irish stock, and his wife, Augusta Greene, a granddaughter of Commodore Samuel Nicholson, who had been a lieutenant with Paul Jones in the battle between the *Bon Homme Richard* and the *Serapis*, and commander of the frigate *Constitution*, the building of which he superintended. At the time of John Hassard's birth his parents' home was in Houston Street, almost directly opposite the old Convent of Mercy, which had previously been the original foundation in New York of the Religious of the Sacred Heart. His early religious training was that of the Protestant Episcopal Church, his education being received at Trinity School, but by his own free choice, when he reached the age of fifteen, he entered the Catholic Church, being baptized on May 27, 1851, by the Rev. Dr. John Murray Forbes, in the Church of the Nativity on Second Avenue, the Rev. Thomas S. Preston, subsequently his pastor and close friend, acting as sponsor. I have been unable to ascertain whether his mother's conversion preceded or followed his, but all who knew him are agreed that he took the step wholly of his own volition. It is characteristic of him that he seems never to have confided to anyone, even those nearest to him, the reasons which impelled him to this step, and the probability is that having taken it he ceased to regard himself as the subject of a religious experience in any way unusual. He had an extraordinary simplicity of character, and having once embraced the Catholic Faith it became as the breath of his nostrils and as little a matter of analysis as though he had been born in it. He had likewise a singularly clear mind, and throughout his life all its powers were brought to the service of that choice which he had made so deliberately at fifteen.

His collegiate studies were made at St. John's College, Fordham, where he so distinguished himself that he was permitted to combine his sophomore and junior years and was graduated at the head of his class in 1855. Here his literary ability manifested itself and unquestionably it owed not a little of its development to the

fact that these years fell during the presidency of the famous Father John Larkin, S. J., concerning whom Hassard later wrote, that his speech bore more of the marks of culture than that of any man he had ever met, except James Russell Lowell. It was his good fortune to have Father Larkin for a time as professor of rhetoric and under this scholarly gentleman, who never used a textbook, John Hassard's critical faculties were brought far towards that point of sane and balanced expression which subsequently won him the esteem of Ripley and Dana and made him the most respected of the critics of his day. With two of his friends, Arthur Francis of St. Louis and Martin T. (afterward General) McMahon of New York, he even tried his hand at journalism on his own account. The *Goose Quill*, as the venture was called, was in advance of its time, its existence being ignored rather than permitted by the college authorities, Father Larkin in particular being quite out of sympathy with newspapers in general. It had all to be written out by hand, and this, in addition to his editorial labors, was Hassard's task. Anyone who has had the pleasurable duty of reading his exceedingly clear and legible penmanship will consider that the *Goose Quill* could scarcely have been made more readable by type. Hassard's later literary work was almost entirely of a serious nature, but during his college days he exhibited a delightful sense of humor; as a matter of fact, this was never extinguished but it was not the aspect which he turned to the public.

He received his M.A. from Fordham at the Commencement exercises of 1857. It had been his intention to enter the priesthood, but after a year at the diocesan seminary, then situated at Fordham, it was found that his health was not sufficiently robust, and he left the seminary and turned his attention to literature. At this time he was living with his family in the village of Fordham on what was then called the Ridge Road. In an address to the Historical Association of the college, in 1863, on "The Revolutionary History of Westchester County," he speaks of Col. James De Lancey's encampment on Fordham Ridge, "in or near my garden."

He was first associated with George Ripley in the compilation of the *American Cyclopaedia* and during these years undoubtedly acquired much of that broad culture which gave to his subsequent newspaper work its character of easy scholarship. These labors likewise brought him into contact with Charles A. Dana who, when

he went to Chicago in 1865, to edit the *Republican*, engaged Hassard as assistant editor. Meanwhile Father Hecker had instituted the Catholic Publication Society and inaugurated the publication of the *Catholic World*, with Mr. Hassard as managing editor. Orestes A. Brownson's *Later Life* throws this light on the early days of what was then a daring venture, but which still flourishes in vindication of the hardihood of its sponsors: "The first number of the *Catholic World* was issued in April, 1865, with Isaac Hecker as its real editor-in-chief, and a managing editor under him, Lawrence Kehoe, as publisher, and financially backed by Isaac's brother George.

"It was not intended at first, or at least it was not given out, that it was to contain more than a selection from the Catholic periodicals of Europe with a few original literary and scientific notices appended to each number. Later it became mostly 'original.'" (Pp. 506-507.)

Lawrence J. Kehoe, the publisher, in a note to Brownson, February 15, 1865, asks: "What do you think about my taking a situation in the custom house? Could I get one that I could attend to and attend to this magazine also? This affair will not take up all my time and will not be able at present, if it ever is, to pay me enough to live upon. My expenses are great and I have but little faith in Catholic publications. I have spent eight years—the best years of my life—at such business, and what have I got? I am poorer than when I went into it." (Ib. 507.)

Hassard was the managing editor referred to above. His first signed contribution to the *Catholic World* appeared in the issue for April, 1867, and dealt with the subject of ritualism, as exemplified in the services at St. Alban's Episcopal Church, which was then situated on East Forty-seventh Street, New York, but which for some years has ceased to exist, the ground on which it stood now forming part of the property of the New York Central lines. His last paper, dealing with the art and personality of Franz Liszt, was contributed to the number for October, 1886.

In 1866 he associated himself with the editorial staff of the New York *Tribune*, still under the management of its distinguished founder, Horace Greeley. From that time until his death Hassard contributed to the columns of the *Tribune* a lengthy series of papers, of varied character but invariable literary excellence, comprising editorials, book reviews and musical criticisms. Indeed, he

became the foremost musical critic of his day. His friend, Monsignor Preston, said of him, "Although he never learned music from a master he could play almost any piece on the organ and follow with the score the most difficult symphonies." His opinions were based on an extraordinarily accurate natural discernment and he possessed to a high degree a quality to which he paid tribute in Liszt, "that fine, incommunicable, sure, artistic sense which we call taste."

He wrote dispassionately, without harshness or sentimentality, displaying such a depth of musical appreciation, such broad general knowledge, such a sincere regard for the principles of art, such an inerrancy of judgment, that it is not strange that his opinions commanded the respect of the musical world and gave him a place of preeminence among his colleagues. A contemporary writer has left us an unusually attractive portrait of Hassard at this time: "Taking them all in all," he said, "I don't think any one acquainted with the newspaper men of New York will object to naming John R. G. Hassard, of the *Tribune*, as the best gentleman among them. . . . Those peculiarly neat, brief editorials, no more finished in type than they are in his clear, fastidious manuscript, are his; specially able and cutting musical criticisms on new artists may be set down to him, for music is his special province, and, unlike most musical men, he is just as able in other paths as in this. The briefest, justest book notices are from that clever pen. . . . Always dressed in the neatest, freshest, but the plainest style, his desk in perfect order, his frank, hazel eyes always undimmed, his finely-shaped hand always spotless, he is a tacit reproach to the careless women writers who approach him with manuscript. The amount of work he does leaves no traces of exhaustion, thanks to as regular habits as any journalist in the city can boast. His manner is simply perfection in an editor, courteous, without compliment, decided, not curt, and prompt, without temper. He is unmarried, about thirty-five years old, a sincerely pleasant companion and a good son. Any afternoon at the Philharmonic concerts, one may see him escorting his mother to Steinway Hall with as much deference as the youngest belle would have from her chevalier. To my mind, after viewing the *flâneurs* criticising pretty girls from the colonnade, and discreet editors paying conspicuous attentions to their pretty wives, and smart 'subs' walking off with highly-dressed young ladies, the prettiest sight in New York is tall, stately

Mr. John Hassard taking care of his mother, in her pearl-gray bonnet and white lace."

That Mr. Hassard brought to his critical work the simplicity and sincerity of an artist is evident from the fact that his notices of the musicians and singers of a vanished day are not as might be expected, the lifeless record of sounds that have died unechoing away. From his pencil-point has been distilled the color and aroma of that old, less smart, but more deeply cultured period; the manners, the personality, the outlook of its artists and audiences are preserved for us. Nilsson, in her delicate young beauty, lives again through that long-heralded, rapturously-received first performance at the old Academy of Music; we hear Albani's flute-like tones across the years; we thrill under the spell of the matchless Parepa-Rosa, and the keys of long-silent pianofortes awaken under the magic of Von Bulow's touch.

But the surest evidence of Hassard's critical discernment is his recognition of the genius of Wagner, whose "music of the future" he was so quick to acclaim that he has been called the original Wagnerian in America. He represented the *Tribune* on the occasion of the first performance of the "Ring" at Bayreuth in 1876, his published descriptions of which subsequently appeared between covers and will be treated more at length in their place. Meanwhile, in 1866, he had published a *Life of the Most Rev. John Hughes, Archbishop of New York*, which has been variously estimated, but which, whatever its shortcomings, still remains the standard biography of its subject. At the time of Hassard's death Father Hecker spoke of this book as his greatest work but complained that he did not sufficiently emphasize the Archbishop's "standpoint of American citizenship in the management of ecclesiastical affairs," but the fact that this head of the diocese of New York stands out as the greatest American prelate of his day is largely due to the first full-length portrait of him, drawn by his friend, John Hassard.

In 1872, at the death of Greeley, Hassard became managing editor of the *Tribune*, a post which he filled for some time. He was at this time residing in New York, at 216 East Eighteenth Street, and in this same year he married Miss Isabel Hargous, a daughter of P. A. Hargous, who still survives him and to whose courtesy I am indebted for much of the material for this paper. Their wedding was celebrated in St. Ann's church in Twelfth Street, on May

8, 1872, the ceremony being performed by the pastor, Monsignor Preston.

A visitor to the *Tribune* offices in 1874 has left us this sketch of the still "stately" Mr. Hassard: "On going out you pass the door of the editorial rooms, and, be it early morn or dewy eve, if you look through the window at the top, you will see Mr. Hassard, the musical critic, and one of the strongest of the editorial writers, sitting at his desk in a remote part of the room. He is always on hand and always ready for work. He is one of the most valuable men in this office of brilliant writers, for the reason that he is never disturbed by the most trying circumstances. At the time of Mr. Greeley's death when everybody else in the office appeared to lose his head, Hassard was as cool and self-possessed as an iceberg. He managed everything and wrote all the articles on Mr. Greeley with the tender grace for which he is conspicuous. There are many men who could have done it after a fashion, but it would have been either too cold or else sentimental drivel. His article on the death of Mme. Parepa-Rosa was one of the best written of any I have seen on the same subject. Yet it must have been a melancholy task for him to write it, for he was not only a warm admirer of the great singer, but a devoted personal friend. His regard for her amounted almost to worship. Any man possessing less self-control could not have written such an article—it was so well considered and highly-finished. Mr. Hassard is a comparatively young man and a rising man, too; the *Tribune* could spare almost any pen better than his. His musical criticisms are more what such things should be than those of any man in the city, and I know that singers would rather have his good word than that of any other, for they know that he is a thorough musician as well as a just and fearless critic."

For all its dignified reserve there is the glint of tears running through the rather lengthy article on Parepa-Rosa (d. January 23, 1874) of which, to the honor of singer and critic, the following excerpt deserves to be preserved: "Her truest glory is that she honored her profession alike in her work and in her life. Long after the fleeting glories of the hour are forgotten, and the echoes of the matchless voice have ceased to resound, and the wreaths are withered, and the portraits hang faded on the wall, the great good which Madame Parepa-Rosa accomplished here will be gratefully remembered. She opened the minds of the multitude to new con-

ceptions of art. She discovered to them unsuspected beauties. She elevated and refined their taste. She taught them to despise vulgarity and false pretense, and affectation; to appreciate whatever is pure, and dignified and conscientious; to hate the cheap devices of the showman. In six years she advanced the musical taste and knowledge of America by the measure of a whole generation. What Theodore Thomas has done with the orchestra she did with the oratorio, the opera, and the ballad. Her influence will last all the longer from the fact that she was taken away before her great powers had shown any evidence of decay. We were spared the pain of witnessing any deterioration in the delicious tones or any decline in her physical vigor. The voice that haunts our memory is the voice of a woman in the splendor of her prime; the sweet face that rises before us will always be bright, and fresh, and smiling, as it was on that last night of her appearance at the Academy of Music, when New York with such hearty unanimity called her back again and again before the curtain, and bade her an affectionate farewell."

A word should be said here as to Hassard's criticisms of books and the drama. They were less numerous than his musical critiques; at any rate, far fewer of them have been preserved, but they are characterized by the same wholesomeness of outlook, the same unswerving fidelity to artistic standards, the same perception of authenticity of inspiration and adequacy of performance. He had a healthy scorn for what he called "the carnal school of literature" as exemplified in the productions of "Ouida." For such a debasement of an art to which he devoted himself with a deliberate consecration of all his powers the calm pen of John Hassard could frame this indictment: "How then shall we account for 'Ouida's' popularity? Well, there are people who love to read of the sins they have yet a little too much conscience to commit; there are people who are moved by curiosity to look at a book which is understood to make free with well-known characters in London, faintly disguising them with fictitious names; and there are people who relish daring language from a woman which they would not tolerate from a man, just because it is contrary to all our instincts of right that women should be familiar with those particular forms of impropriety. We suppose there are women who take a fierce pleasure in writing flavorful stories, just as there are actresses whose highest dramatic ambition is to wear trunk hose, or carry a cane

and cigar. As a rule the women who ape masculine vulgarity upon the stage do it very ill; showing only a vulgarity of their own which is far more nauseous. As a rule we may also say that the women who attempt a similar indecency in books succeed no better. We can certainly say of 'Ouida' that she has not represented the manners and habits of any class of men known to the world. We presume she has failed quite as signally with her women; but of the class of women with whom she has to do we confess we are not qualified to speak."

It was inevitable that he should have been a lover of Charles Dickens, with whose fineness of nature his own was so much akin. This kinship of spirit was particularly manifested in his editorial written on the occasion of Dickens' death, which pays tribute to the great novelist who "without a suspicion of demagogism, without the affectation of condescending, without uttering one insincere or flattering word, made himself as truly the poet and prophet of the people in prose as Burns was their chosen singer in verse."

In this connection may be cited the only instance of literary criticism or observation which occurs in his diaries, the gist of a conversation which he had in 1882 with the historian, J. R. Green, at Mentone:

"Speaking of publication in serial form, which he considers ruinous to literary art, Mr. Green says that when he first wrote for magazines his publisher impressed upon him the importance of a sensational opening: 'Damn your middle, but give me a good beginning and end!' Dickens ruined himself with serial publication. There grew upon him a constant striving for effect, to carry off the number. He had two faculties in a remarkable degree, the humorous and the dramatic, which he never succeeded in wholly uniting; and at the last the exigencies of monthly publication caused the more valuable of these faculties—the humorous—to be ruthlessly sacrificed for the other. It is true that the *Tale of Two Cities*, which contains not one humorous character, is perhaps the strongest of his works; but after all, his greatest achievement was *Pickwick*. I mentioned the incident of Dickens' first reading in America of the trial scene from *Pickwick*, when the audience raised a sudden storm of applause at the phrase, 'Call Samuel Weller'—a greeting to the popular favorite. Yes, said Mr. Green, the creation of the two Wellers was a stroke of genius. Mr. *Pickwick*, you know, is really a contemporary Don Quixote; but to think of supplying

him with *two* Sancho Panzas! At the close of his life I know that Dickens bitterly regretted that he had not chosen the stage. He would rather have been a great dramatist and actor than a great novel writer, and he died a disappointed man."

A further manifestation of what may be called Mr. Hassard's "piety" towards Dickens was the publication in the summer of 1879 of a series of letters to the *Tribune*, which in 1881 were issued in book form under the title, *A Pickwickian Pilgrimage*. They described with a sympathy and fidelity which show the extent to which he had his Dickens "by heart" a leisurely journey from one site to another immortalized by the master's hand. The title is a misnomer inasmuch as the interest of the "shrines" visited is not Pickwickian alone, but embraces many a haunt in that witching land of Dickens, from whose spell, once it has fallen upon one, there is no escaping. The book likewise contains the account of a boat voyage on the River Wye, from Hereford to Chepstow, which William Winter called "the best single example of his best literary manner."

I have spoken of this book out of its chronological order in order to deal with Hassard's strictly literary criticism as a whole and must now return to the year 1876 and the occasion of his visit to Bayreuth. For this period I have had, by the gracious permission of Mrs. Hassard, the opportunity of checking his published impressions with his private journal and thus obtaining an insight into his methods. The diaries are the unadorned record of daily occurrences that we should expect from a man of his innate reserve; they chronicle the itinerary, the travelling expenses, the weather, the quality of the *table d'hôte*, the places visited, the persons met, and even at Lourdes there is no display of the emotion that must have been aroused in this deeply religious man. The diaries are the framework upon which he built up the meticulously detailed account which he sent home to his paper.

In August, 1876, there took place at Bayreuth, in a theatre built especially for the purpose, and under the personal supervision of the great composer himself, the first performance of Wagner's "Ring of the Nibelungs." Accompanied by Mrs. Hassard, the *Tribune's* delegate to this event went abroad in March and spent the interval in England and France. Mrs. Hassard remained with her sister, Nimi le Couteleux de Caumont, in Paris during his sojourn at Bayreuth, which he reached on August 4. At Bayreuth,

which Hassard pronounced "nothing except what Wagner makes it," he encountered many acquaintances from the music-loving circles of New York and Boston, the total number of Americans said to have been present for the festival amounting to more than one hundred and fifty.

Hassard gives a charmingly graphic description of the little town under the unwonted circumstances, the throngs of foreign visitors, the picturesque townsfolk, the groups of singers and musicians, "Walkyries and Rhinedaughters with their honest and not uncomely faces," and, in distinction towering over all, Herr Wagner and Liszt, his father-in-law.

The last rehearsal took place on the evening of August 6, for the exclusive benefit of the mad King Ludwig of Bavaria. Orders had been issued that no one else was to be admitted, but by the "indefatigable exertions" of a friend Mr. Hassard was one of the few admitted to the gallery above the royal box, where he had the curious experience of sitting for hours in absolute silence as the witness of a historic performance at which officially there was no one present except the eccentric monarch. From this representation of the "Rheingold" Hassard came away "fairly aflame with enthusiasm." But the official emptiness of the house caused reverberations which marred the effect on this occasion, so on the following day, at the royal command, every seat in the house was filled and the *Tribune's* representative was once more among the fortunate auditors.

His letters from Bayreuth, written August 12, 13, 14, 16 and 17, 1876, with the possible exception of his lecture on "Modern Music," delivered at Union College, Schenectady, June 9, 1880, constitute Mr. Hassard's most sustained and comprehensive contribution to the literature of musical appreciation. They are assuredly his most important, for it was no small achievement to have accorded such fulness of recognition to Wagner in the very year of the "Pasdeloup Scandal," when the attempt to produce "Lohengrin" caused a riot in the Paris *Cirque d'Hiver*, the innovation being drowned in a tumult of dog-whistles and derisive yells. In the Bayreuth letters, as also in his other appreciations of Wagner, Mr. Hassard not only pays tribute to the quality of the music, but shows himself permeated with the Romantic spirit, whether Scandinavian, Teutonic or Celtic in source, which animated the new school.

During his sojourn in Bayreuth he spent a morning with Liszt, who was a guest in Wagner's house, and his description of the visit affords a pleasing glimpse of the great composer, so great that he could afford to be generous at once towards his greater son-in-law and a lesser musician from America, likewise present, whom he prevailed upon to play one of his own compositions. In the article which he wrote for the *Catholic World* on the occasion of Liszt's death Mr. Hassard added another touch to the picture in the statement that although the Hungarian abbé passed his days amid throngs of worldlings, receiving incense, in the early morning he used to see him alone at Mass in the church, an unconscious betrayal of the manner in which Hassard began his own day.

He rejoined Mrs. Hassard and the journey was resumed in a leisurely manner through Switzerland to Italy, Rome being reached on October 2. When he records the fact in his diary Mr. Hassard twice underscores the name of the Apostolic See, a circumstance equivalent to pages of rapture from another pen. Besides their audience with the Holy Father on October 9 Mr. Hassard contrived to be in St. Peter's on the sixteenth when, for the first time since Victor Emmanuel entered Rome, Pope Pius IX showed himself in the basilica. The occasion was that of the reception of a band of 7,000 Spanish pilgrims under the leadership of the Archbishop of Granada. The deep impression made upon Mr. Hassard by these glimpses of Pío Nono resulted in the publication (1877) of a *Life* of that Pontiff, in which the author accomplished in a sympathetic and convincing manner the task he had set himself in his preface, which was rather "to show the spirit of the late pontificate than to write a full catalogue of its achievements."

From Rome the Hassards went to Paris and thence to London and here the pages of the diary are scattered over with the names of distinguished persons, mostly literary, with whom they were brought in contact, such as Justin McCarthy, John Russell Young, Kate Field, at that time likewise a contributor to the *Tribune*. They are enlivened by an occasional anecdote.

G. A. Sala, he tells us, introduced at a friend's house to Attenborough, the great London pawnbroker, said to him, "Ah, Mr. Attenborough, I am happy to meet you. I never had the pleasure of seeing your legs before."

Besides the *Life of Pius IX* Hassard published in 1877 his *History of the United States*, a text-book for use in Catholic

schools, of which this significant criticism appears in the advertisement to the fourth edition: "Catholic teachers have been most cordial in their commendations of it; and Protestants who have examined it have been good enough to say that it would be one of the best of school histories—if there were not so much Catholicity in it."

In 1876 took place the Hayes-Tilden presidential campaign and the disputed election which brought the country to the brink of civil war. The *Tribune*, then under the editorship of Whitelaw Reid, had naturally advocated the claims of the Republican candidate and in the Summer of 1878, to use the *Tribune's* own words, it "found itself in possession of a mass of telegraphic despatches which had passed between certain leaders of the Democratic party in New York city and their confidential agents in various contested states at the time of the canvass of the electoral votes in 1876." The despatches numbered close upon 400, half of them being in plain English and the other half in cipher, the decodification of which, the *Tribune* realized, would reveal political matters of a startling nature. It developed that in order to make their decodification practically an impossibility to persons not possessing the keys, several kinds of systems had been used, and the discovery of the keys, thus making possible the publication by the *Tribune* of the contents of the telegrams, was the work of Mr. Hassard, to whom a large number of them were turned over by Mr. Reid. Col. W. M. Grosvenor, likewise of the *Tribune* staff, later asked for an opportunity to try his hand at the translation and for some time the two men worked independently. At first it was a matter of blind groping but when they at last compared notes it was found that between them they had found practically six transposition keys. The last key was discovered by both of them on the same evening, although one was working in Connecticut and the other in New Jersey. I have before me several of the yellowing sheets on which Mr. Hassard worked out portions of the enigma, and they are eloquent witnesses to the magnitude of the task under which his never robust health failed.

The translation seemed to show that there had been a conspiracy to purchase for Tilden the votes of the contested Southern States. The *Tribune* revelations, showing that Colonel Pelton, Tilden's nephew and a member of his household, had carried on negotiations and authorized the offer of sums of money in payment for

votes in Florida, South Carolina and Oregon, were made the subject of a Congressional investigation. Henry Watterson, editor of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, better than any other living man of those who took part in the Electoral Commission, set up as the Presidential tribunal, knows the details of the inside story. In his autobiography (New York, 1919) he has this to say of the cipher telegrams: "Mr. Tilden knew nothing of the cipher despatches until they appeared in the New York *Tribune*. Neither did Mr. George W. Smith, his private secretary, and later one of the trustees of his will. It should be sufficient to say that so far as they involved No. 15 Gramercy Park they were the work solely of Colonel Pelton, acting on his own responsibility and as Mr. Tilden's nephew exceeding his authority to act; that it later developed that during this period Colonel Pelton had not been in his perfect mind; but was at least semi-responsible, and that on two occasions when the vote or votes sought seemed within reach Mr. Tilden interposed to forbid. Directly and personally I know this to be true." (*Marse Henry*, Vol. I, p. 280.)

The Congressional investigation took place in January, 1879, and in the following May Mr. and Mrs. Hassard sailed for Europe, the voyage being undertaken in an effort to repair his declining health. They returned in September, having spent the greater part of the interval in England, the result being the publication of *A Pickwickian Pilgrimage* with the supplementary *Boat Voyage on the Wye*. Among the distinguished persons encountered on this journey whose names are recorded in the diary were Norman Locklear, Charles Godfrey Leland, Father Christie, S.J., the Stedmans, Louise Chandler Moulton, Mrs. "Barry Cornwall" Proctor, "whom Browning calls the brightest woman in London," Frederick Harrison and F. W. Smalley, the London correspondent of the *Tribune*. There is a mention of Sarah Bernhardt, "over whom London is making a fool of itself," and there are one or two references to the Princess of Wales, then struggling with the English tongue and the affections of the British people.

Ripley died in 1880 and much of the literary reviewing for the *Tribune* which had been his province, and in which he achieved such distinction that he has been called the father of criticism in America, fell to Mr. Hassard, who was beginning to be less capable of the physical exertion required for covering the musical

field. Frank Potter assisted in this task, which was subsequently assigned to Henry E. Krehbiel.

Mr. and Mrs. Hassard spent the mid-winter of 1881 at Nassau in the Bahamas, whence came a series of letters to the *Tribune* filled with the sunshine and the gleam of coral sand through translucent seas and conveying no hint that the writer was an invalid in search of health. The following Summer was spent in the White Mountains and on December 7, 1881, Mr. and Mrs. Hassard sailed for Liverpool, bound for the south of France. First came some pleasant weeks in London, during which the Hassards dined at the United States Embassy as the guests of Mr. Lowell, their fellow-guests including Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Lecky and the Rev. Mr. Burnett, whose brother had married Lowell's daughter. Lecky is described as "a long shambling blond with a curiously weak and high voice and a mild almost deprecating manner, not very talkative but quite agreeable."

Under the title, *A Winter Journey*, the sojourn in France was described for the *Tribune* in a series of letters, signed with the familiar initials "J. R. G. H." From Mentone, which they made their headquarters, they visited the towns and villages of the vicinity. Mr. Hassard had a letter of introduction to G. S. Andrews, who turned out pleasantly to be "the same whom I used to know at Fordham." Through Andrews he met the historian, J. R. Green, who was convalescing at Mentone from a long illness. The diary contains an interesting account of Green's political opinions and theories of government: "He professes himself a republican and belongs, he says, to the class of people who in England are called not loyal; but the business of electing presidents he would cheerfully leave to us. Washington and Hamilton were great men, yet they laid a heavy burden upon their country when they saddled us with presidential elections. The ideal republic would be something like the Swiss, where three of the cantons take turns in nominating the chief of the confederation, who holds office for one year, signs papers, sits at the head of the table, and exercises such influence as God and nature may have given him, but who has no real power. Mr. Green is more and more astonished at the extent of the power possessed by the President of the United States, which far exceeds that enjoyed by the British crown. Queen Victoria cannot even appoint to a crown-living."

The *Tribune* letters are replete with colorful sketches of man-

ners and customs, fragrant descriptions of the undying summer, and minute character sketches, such as this, which deserves its meed of immortality :

"I ought to except from the category of the commonplace a long lank citizen of the United States whom I met at the Casino [Monte Carlo] and almost everywhere else, surveying things in general with an inimitable air of philosophic interest and serene complacency, undisturbed by the entertainment he affords to those about him. He wears a suit of coarse and heavy black, evidently ready made and much too large for him. The coat is a shapeless sack, very long in the skirt and the sleeves. A tumbled black silk neckerchief is wound about a high limp collar, of which it is impossible to say whether it is meant to stand up or turn over ; and the figure is crowned by a black felt hat at whose stupendous breadth the effete populations of Europe are never tired of wondering. Our friend has a tangled beard of iron gray and a stiff pollard moustache, which does not conceal the subsatisfied expression always playing about his mouth. He carries his hands behind him, he treads with emphasis, he throws his head back that he may better view the world from under the broad felt."

The printed record of Mr. Hassard's musical criticisms ceases with 1878, but the manuscript notes show that his interest was as keen as ever. His admiration for Theodore Thomas remained unabated, the very last entry in his note-book being a tribute to Thomas's ability and force of character.

The winter of 1883 saw him in California, Mrs. Hassard accompanying him as usual. This journey resulted in a fresh series of letters which contain many interesting details concerning the California of those days. There is, for instance, his description of the town of Riverside, San Bernardino County, which was, as he says, "created by ditch water in the midst of an absolute desert." At the time of Mr. Hassard's visit it was only twelve years since this experiment in irrigation had been begun and the results seemed almost miraculous. In the following Summer with Mrs. Hassard, three friends, a guide, a Chinese cook, worthy of the pages of Bret Harte, and a cow, he encamped in the California mountains and there is no more gallant contribution to the literature of cheerfulness than the letters which reached the *Tribune* from Pine Mountain, unless it be those which R. L. S. despatched under strikingly similar circumstances from Saranac and Samoa. Indeed,

there is an extraordinary likeness between the optimism of these two men, an optimism based not on a blinking of the facts of life, but on a high clear-seeing courage, Hassard's being, if anything, the more intrepid for being grounded upon a deeper spiritual certainty.

This likeness between them is rendered all the more striking by the fact that in the fall of 1884 the Hassards pitched their tents in the Adirondacks and that the winter of 1885 found them at Saranac. There is even a pathetic reprint from the *Tribune* for March, 1885, describing the now famous sanitarium of Dr. Trudeau, which was then about to be opened. The initials "J. R. G. H." had been signed for almost the last time. Hassard was able to write gaily of trout fishing in the Osgood River in the late summer, but the remainder of the few years he had to live were spent in the seclusion necessitated by increasing invalidism. There was no slackening of the brave spirit, however, no flickering of his faith, and when he died at his home, 218 East Eighteenth street, on the morning of April 18, 1888, it was felt that his friend, William Winter, had summed up both his life and his character when he wrote in the pages of the *Tribune*, "he was a gentleman and a scholar." He was buried on April 21 from St. Ann's Church, the funeral sermon being preached by Rev. Thomas J. Campbell, S.J., then president of his alma mater, Fordham College.

PRINCE GALLITZIN'S EXPERIENCE WITH QUASI-SPIRITISTIC PHENOMENA

By THE REV. JEROME D. HANNAN, A.M., S.T.D.

We live in an atmosphere of paganism; its fumes encompass us on all sides. Perhaps the most noxious of its gases is that known as Spiritism. That this modern occultism is characteristically pagan is evidenced by the drastic prohibition of a similar practice uttered by the sacred writers in the Old and the New Testament (Coakley, *Spiritism, the Modern Satanism*, p 15). It must not amaze the world, then, that the champions of Christianity have taken up arms against this latest manifestation of the zealous enmity of the Powers of Darkness. Of these modern knights of the Cross, Godfrey Raupert, though maintaining that the phenomena of the seance-room are produced by intelligences of "an independent and extraneous character" (*Modern Spiritism*, p. 86), insists that these external agents are not what they proclaim themselves, the souls of the dead (*ib.* p. 213). Therefore, while Sir Arthur Conan Doyle looks upon the spiritistic theology and philosophy as a new revelation from divine sources (*Bookman, Spiritism in England*, Jan., 1918) and while Sir Oliver Lodge devotes a whole volume, *Raymond*, to the recitation of experimental communications with his dead son, Mr. Raupert asserts that the dead are not the originators of the mysterious communications of the seance. (*Modern Spiritism, l.c.*). To this theory as advanced by Mr. Raupert, the Reverend Doctor Coakley subscribes, contending that there are certain spiritistic phenomena for the adequate explanation of which the operation of unseen, spiritual intelligences or demons must be admitted (*Spiritism, the Modern Satanism*, pp. 119-120). The Reverend Doctor Liljencrants, on the other hand, expressly maintains that there is no positive evidence for genuine physical phenomena and that natural psychical phenomena, *v.gr.*, telepathy and telesthesia, may possibly account for the so-called "spirit messages" (*Spiritism and Religion*, pp. 178 and 211). This position finds another champion in the Reverend Charles Herredia, S.J., who assures us that after examining the principles and the most wonderful phenomena of Spiritism at the original sources, he came to the conclusion that there is almost always some "leak" in each of the phenomena. He says, it

will be noted, "almost always," for he himself admits that some of the marvels are genuine. Nevertheless, he cannot concede that either the spiritistic or the "diabolic" theory has established its claims satisfactorily. Finally he distinguishes between spontaneous phenomena, *v.gr.*, diabolic possession and unsought apparitions, and phenomena wrought through a medium, implicitly declaring his belief that the "diabolic" theory is justified in the case of the former, while with regard to the latter it does not exceed the bounds of an hypothesis (the *Pittsburgh Observer*, Aug. 26, 1920, p. 12). This happy distinction thrusts us headlong into our subject, for the phenomena of which Father Gallitzin was a witness, though similar in some respects to the spectacle produced through the operation of a medium, were spontaneous to the last degree.

But before we plunge into a recital of these wonderful events, a brief sketch of the life of the Prince may aid to an understanding of the circumstances under which they were beheld and of the emotions with which they were experienced. At the time these portents took place, Father Gallitzin was a young man in the twenty-seventh year of his age and the third year of his priesthood. He had been elevated to this exalted office on March 18, 1795, by Archbishop Carroll (*Metropolitan, Memoir of Rev. Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin*, May, 1856, pp. 204-205), the first priest to complete his full theological course and receive all the Holy Orders in the New World (*Catholic World, The Apostle of the Alleghanies*, April 18, 1895, p. 97). Despite this distinction, Prince Gallitzin was not a native of the newly-born republic; in fact, neither of his parents had accompanied him to this strange land. He was the son of Prince Demetrius Gallitzin, a power at the Russian court of his time and Russian Ambassador at Paris and The Hague (*Metropolitan, l.c.*, pp. 201-202). His mother was the Countess von Schmettau, daughter of that celebrated soldier of Frederick the Great's Army, Field-Marshal von Schmettau (*North American Review*, April, 1859, p. 350). Father Gallitzin's impressionable years were spent under the direction of a materialistic tutor and it is easily conceivable that no religious sentiment was breathed by him in that pagan environment (*North American Review, l.c.*, p. 352). Yet the conversion of his mother to Catholicism when he was sixteen years of age had so great an influence upon his soul that he resolved to follow her. The culmination of

this resolution took place in the following year, just eight years before his ordination and an even decade before the incident at Ciptown (*Metropolitan l.c.*, p. 203). As a youth, he was timid, reserved, and easily influenced (*Catholic World*, April 1895, p. 97) yet neither these pacific characteristics nor his conversion to Catholicism affected his determination to be a soldier. In 1792, a year which was to mark the manifestation of his real vocation, he became aid-de-camp to the commander of the Austrian army in Brabant. This commission, however, he did not enjoy long because an order to exclude all foreigners from the army necessarily affected him, a Russian (*North American Review, l.c.*, p. 354). Lacking a commission, he was influenced by his parents to travel in the United States (*ib. l.c.*, p. 354) and thither he set out in the company of a German missionary, Father Brosius, who, throughout the voyage, held out to his young companion the glories of the missionary's life as exemplified by St. Francis Xavier (*Metropolitan, l.c.*, p. 204). Such fertile soil had the young Prince's soul proven to be that after consulting Archbishop Carroll and the Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice in Baltimore, he decided to become a missionary and entered upon a course of training preparatory to his ordination. He was already well educated and, therefore, his stay at the seminary extended over a period of little more than two years (*Metropolitan, l.c.*, p. 204-205). To allow the young man time to recuperate after his strenuous mental exertion, the Archbishop assigned him to Port Tobacco, not far from where Lancaster, Pa., now stands. Shortly afterwards he was transferred to Baltimore (*Catholic World*, Rev. D. A. Gallitzin and the Catholic Settlement in Pennsylvania, Nov., 1865) and sometime in the year 1796 he fulfilled the Archbishop's original design by becoming assistant to Fathers Brosius and Pellentz at the Conewago Mission (Brownson, *Life of Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin*, p. 99). From this mission as a center, he attended at intervals the faithful living at Taneytown, Pipe Creek, Hagerstown, Cumberland, Martinsburg, Chambersburg, Winchester, Huntingdon, and the Alleghany Mountains (*North American Review, l.c.*, p. 357).

It was while stationed at this mission that the opportunity of exercising his office of exorcist came to the young priest. The place where the diabolic performances took place was Middleway,

since named Cliptown,* near Martinsburg, in what was then the State of Virginia. The family visited was that of Adam Livingston, a Pennsylvanian of Dutch descent, affiliated with the Lutheran Church. The manifestations were preceded by an incident that may or may not have had an influential bearing upon them, but which, at least, illustrates the attitude of the Livingstons towards Catholicism before the mysterious occurrences. An Irish traveller, while passing through the neighborhood in which Mr. Livingston resided, suddenly was taken ill. Livingston, possessing the natural virtues of kindness and hospitality, attended him throughout his illness, and, when this resulted in death, buried him. But it is interesting to note that the traveller, being Irish and possessing, therefore, the Faith to which his nation has firmly adhered in spite of persecution that even the present generation is witnessing, asked for a priest to attend him before his death. Livingston, influenced by the tales set afloat by the bigots of his time, refused to comply with this request. This he did less through a desire to deny the sick man a legitimate favor than with the intention of actually doing him a service, the priest being looked upon in bigoted circles as an emissary of Satan. At all events, the death of the sick traveller seemed the signal for the appearance of prodigies akin in many respects to the phenomena that spiritistic mediums effect to-day at a definite charge for each performance.

Among the mysterious actions by which Livingston's family was afflicted at that time have been recorded the burning of his barns; the death of his horses and cattle; the destruction of clothing, bedding, harness, boots, and crockery; the shifting of the household furniture by unknown and unseen hands; the spontaneous appearance of balls of fire; and, finally, weird noises of a most terrifying and nerve-racking character. The destruction of the barns and the death of the cattle, taken in themselves, would not have been sufficient cause for the belief that preternatural agents were at work. Such misfortunes might have been mere coincidences; at worst, they might have been traced to the enmity of man. But regarded in the light of the other prodigies, they added their weight to the conviction that these singular events might be traced to a cause not merely natural. This persuasion

*The facts connected with the events at Cliptown have been taken from Sarah M. Brownson, *The Life of Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin*, New York, 1873; ch. vii, pp. 100-107.

was justified especially by the manner in which the clothing was destroyed. Clothing and bedding were cut or clipped into strips shaped like a crescent, so small that mending was an impossibility. It is told, in this connection, that a Presbyterian lady went to the home of the Livingstons to satisfy her curiosity respecting the reality of the events rumor had described as taking place there. Having learned that articles of dress were treated with slight respect by the hands of the unseen, she took care before entering to wrap in her handkerchief a silk cap that she valued very highly. What was her astonishment to find upon her departure that her precious silk cap had been cut into ribbands. As a visible testimony to the reality of this clipping propensity of the actors in the drama, Father Gallitzin carried with him on his departure from the scene of his adventure, a trunk full of clothing that had been thus destroyed by the activity of the demons. The very name of the town was changed from Middleway to Cliptown, to stand as a memorial to the malicious antics of the evil spirits whose mania seemed to be clipping.

Mr. Livingston was convinced by the succession of events that this molestation could be traced to diabolic influence. His distress was so great that he spared no pains in his attempt to find a minister whose spiritual strength might be powerful enough to rid him forever of the demons and their attacks. As Livingston was prejudiced against the real ministers of Christ, we must not be amazed that such efforts met with little success. In fact, the demons themselves seemed to make sport of the attempts of the parsons to overcome them. This was apparent from the uncereemonious manner in which their tracts were scattered throughout the house. On one occasion, especially, the audacity of the unseen agents brought a meeting of the ministers to a sudden conclusion when a large stone, dropped from the fireplace, fell to the floor with a terrifying thud and so frightened the assembly that all took their departure without further ado. The situation was desperate. The efforts of those whom alone he thought capable of relieving him were fruitless; the vexations themselves showed no signs of diminution. Moreover, the visitation seemed to be personal rather than local, because the devils had not troubled him, though living in the same locality, before the death of the Irish traveller. In that case, change of residence would have helped

but little. In this predicament, Mr. Livingston had a dream which proved to be the key to the solution of his difficulty.

In this vision, Livingston imagined that he was climbing a steep and rugged mountain at the top of which stood an imposing edifice which he recognized as a church. Within the church, he beheld a man dressed in a manner that he had never yet seen. While he stood startled and astonished, he was further astounded by a voice that said to him, "This is the man who will bring you relief." The style of dress, he learned afterwards, was that characteristic of the Catholic priest. Now whence was this dream? As a rule dreams proceed from natural sources. Since to attribute prophetic infallibility to a dream springing from a natural cause is superstition resting on an implicit compact with the devil, who, as a matter of fact, does sometimes have a hand in creating the fantastic disturbance, therefore, has the practice of dream-interpretation been condemned by divine precept as opposed to the virtue of religion (Sabetti-Barrett, 207; 208, No. 2; 209, Quaer. 4). Yet, there are undoubtedly visions sent by God; these, however, are always accompanied by portents that indubitably proclaim their divine origin (Sabetti-Barrett, 209, Quaer. 4). Whether this dream of Livingston came from God or from purely natural sources, it was the first step in the overthrow of the power exercised over himself and his possessions by those agents.

Livingston repeated the details of his dream to his wife and several of his neighbors. From one of the latter he learned that the dress of the man he had seen was that of the Catholic priest. Scarcely was this made known than he was urged most earnestly to consult one. His wife was so importunate that he finally consented to inquire where he might find a Catholic missionary. In the course of his search, he met an acquaintance who knew a very good Catholic family, named McSherry, living but a short distance from Leetown. It was thought that by communicating with Mr. McSherry the whereabouts of a Catholic missionary might be ascertained. He learned that Father Dennis Cahill would be at Shepherdstown the following Sunday morning to celebrate the Holy Sacrifice and thither he set out to enlist the missionary's services. No sooner had he beheld Father Cahill than he recognized in him the man whom he had seen in his dream. Accompanied by Mr. McSherry and a Mr. Minghini, prominent members of Father Cahill's flock, he sought an interview with the priest. Father Cahill

listened attentively while Livingston described the prodigies that had taken place at his home. At the close of the narration, however, the good-natured missionary, slow to believe in the preternatural where there was not sufficient evidence, smiled and attempted to persuade Mr. Livingston that his neighbors were playing mischievous pranks upon him. Livingston would not have it so; even Mr. McSherry and Mr. Minghini argued with the priest in his behalf. Finally, the missionary consented to accompany him to his residence, assured, however, that his was an altogether unnecessary journey. He was not long changing his mind. Scarcely had he reached the Livingston home than he perceived convincing proof of Mr. Livingston's story. Having arrived at this conclusion, he sprinkled the house with holy water, whereupon the marvels ceased for a time. A singular incident connected with the visit of Father Cahill was the restoration of a purse of money that had disappeared sometime before. Not the least amazing was the manner in which it was returned, as it was laid between the feet of the missionary as he was crossing the threshold in departing.

Reports of all these occurrences accumulated at Conewago where Father Gallitzin was in charge of souls. The result was that the young missionary was relieved temporarily of his mission and commissioned to visit Middleway to discover whether or not the rumors were true. This office he assumed with no misgivings, convinced that none but a natural cause was to be assigned for all that had happened there. At Cliptown he remained from September until Christmas, examining those who had witnessed the various phenomena, collecting evidences of diabolic activity, and experiencing many of the marvels himself. The skeptical spirit with which Father Gallitzin approached his task did not remain long with him. He was soon forced to acknowledge that the evil spirit was responsible for the prodigies, some of which he himself had witnessed, others of which he had become acquainted with through the answers that he had received in the course of his investigation.

It was during the stay of Father Gallitzin that the activity of these spirits, rendered unannoying through the efficacy of Father Cahill's visit, recommenced their malicious molestation of the Livingstons. The missionary determined that there was only one permanent remedy. He resolved to exorcise the demons. As he

commenced the exorcism, however, a terrific rumbling noise rattled through the house and this so unnerved the delicate young priest that he was incapable of finishing the prayer. Persuaded that an exorcism should be read, he succeeded in obtaining the cooperation of Father Cahill, whose previous visit had been temporarily successful. Contrasted with the timid nature of Father Gallitzin, Father Cahill's powerful nerve was an object of admiration. Armed with this and the hearty faith of the Irish, he undertook the task which Father Gallitzin had been unable to bring to a fruitful conclusion. At his bidding, the members of the household all knelt down, whereupon the priest, confident in his might and authority, commanded the spirits to depart without so much as harming anyone present. The opposition of the devils was again quite stubborn, but they were eventually compelled to obey him.

Father Gallitzin's experiences at Cliptown did not end here for there was in the trunk that he carried back to Conewago other evidence bearing testimony to mysteries of an entirely different nature. This latter visitation followed close upon the conversion of Mr. Livingston and his family. Soon after their profession of faith, Mr. Livingston was awakened one night by a very bright light. A clear voice bade him arise, summon his family, and pray. This he did, the prayer of the family circle being led by the voice that had awakened Livingston. After the completion of the prayer, the same voice explained to them the mysteries of which they had previously had but a vague knowledge. The wonderful voice remained with them seventeen years, exhorting them to pray for the Poor Souls, to be charitable to one another, to practise strict fasts, and to pray continually. Livingston himself became the agent of the voice for countless benefits to his neighbors. He was sent frequently on long journeys, sometimes at night, to bring messages to the sick and afflicted.

A singular instance of the agency of Mr. Livingston in fulfilling these missions of the voice is to be found in the conversion of the wife of Mr. Minghini. When the latter's wife was ill, he refused to summon a priest for her. The visit of the Presbyterian minister offered her no consolation. Thereupon, Mrs. McSherry became concerned, visited the sick woman, found her well-disposed, and repeated with her an act of contrition. Still Mrs. McSherry was worried. That night she had a dream in which she saw a huge rock crumble away before the stroke of a little child. Mrs.

McSherry made no attempt to interpret the dream and did her utmost to forget it. What was her astonishment, however, to find that the voice had confided its interpretation to Mr. Livingston. The rock was the weight of Mrs. Minghini's sins which had crumbled away before the act of contrition recited by her. At the same time, she was admonished to persuade Mr. Minghini to send for a priest which he would finally consent to do after proposing many objections. The messenger would meet two priests, Fathers Cahill and Gallitzin. He was to ask the latter to accompany him. All happened as predicted and Father Gallitzin had the happiness of receiving Mrs. Minghini into the Church. She died just four days after his ministrations (Brownson, *Life of Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin*, pp. 123-124).

Many were persuaded that the voice was that of one of the suffering souls. We do not presume to be so bold, though one might accept such an explanation without laying himself open to the charge of Spiritism by recurring to the miraculous intervention of Divine Providence. The spirit, in such a supposition, could not be summoned at a definite charge per seance but must depend upon the dispensation of God. Again, the appearance of the spirit would not be limited to the period of trance, would not be accompanied by the horrible contortion of features through which the medium must often pass, would not be characterized by his prodigal waste of energy. The acceptance of the theory of divine intervention would no more convict a man of Spiritism than does the profession of belief in the immortality of the soul. This, both Catholics and Spiritists maintain, yet the two bodies are never confused because of their agreement on this doctrine. Just as the Spiritist cannot attempt to convince a Catholic of Spiritism by arguing that the doctrine of the soul's immortality must prove the possibility of its promiscuous communication with the world of sense, so neither can he assert that the acceptance of the theory of communication through divine intervention must pave the way to belief in the system that takes as communications from departed souls messages so trivial, so worthless, often so vulgar, that they could not have resulted from a miraculous act of Divine Providence. The divergence is too marked to permit confusion.

After experiencing phenomena of the former and the latter character and after finishing his investigation, Father Gallitzin returned to Conewago where he remained a little more than a year.

Disheartened by the spirit of worldliness that had infected his flock, he accepted readily an invitation to become pastor at Clearfield, in the Alleghanies (Brownson, *l.c.*, pp. 107 and 111). There he built a small church and purchased with remittances from his mother tracts of land which he distributed among the poor on long-time payments (*Catholic World*, Nov., 1869, p. 149). To these he later adjoined additional territory purchased on the strength of his inheritance, which, however, was denied him at the death of his father because of the Faith which he had adopted. Moreover, shortly before the death of his mother in 1806 even her regular remittances had decreased in amount and later ceased entirely (*Catholic World*, April, 1895, p. 99), and though the proceeds of a sale of antiques, directed by her will to be given to charity, were destined by the executors for Father Gallitzin, only half of the amount ever reached him (*North American Review*, *l.c.*, p. 360). His sister, the heir to the Gallitzin estate, promised to surrender half the property to him, but her later marriage to an insolvent prince prevented her keeping faith with him (*Metropolitan*, *l.c.*, pp. 207-208). After her marriage she insisted that she would provide for Demetrius through a legacy in her will, but at her death the entire estate went to her husband (*North American Review*, *l.c.*, p. 359). Thus all his resources had failed him and though he had spent \$150,000 of his own money, he now found himself in debt without hope of meeting his responsibilities (*Catholic World*, April, 1895, p. 102). In the midst of these difficulties he succumbed to a sudden illness which proved to be the spark necessary to inflame the devotion of the people who rallied about their pastor and contributed sums sufficient to save his home from sheriff sale (*Catholic World*, April, 1895, p. 102). The gratitude of his flock was all that Father Gallitzin desired for his labors, but the last days of his life saw him rewarded in other ways, as well. For he had the joy of seeing the young parishes of St. Joseph (Carrolltown), St. Augustine, and Gallitzin spring from the original settlement at Loretto; nay, he was appointed Vicar-General of the Diocese of Philadelphia (*Catholic World*, Nov., 1865, p. 154) and was even proposed for the exalted dignity of Bishop of Detroit (Spalding, *Life of Bishop Flaget*, p. 250). He died, however, as an humble priest in 1840, in the seventieth year of his age, mourned by a numerous spiritual progeny by whom he is lovingly remembered as "the Apostle of the Alleghanies."

JAMES AND JOANNA GOULD BARRY

By MARGARET B. DOWNING

In the familiar writings of the Most Reverend John Carroll and Mother Elizabeth A. Seton, the names of Mr. and Mrs. James Barry are frequently encountered, and always in terms of admiration and regard. This estimable couple came from Ireland to New York in the spring of 1788. They were accompanied by two daughters of tender years, and a sturdy youth, James David Barry, son of Mr. Barry's dead brother, David. In later years this James David Barry was legally adopted by his uncle and became his executor, a circumstance which has led to a confusion in the identity of the two men. Mr. and Mrs. James Barry were natives of Cork and lived there until their emigration to America.¹ Coming of an affluent and influential family of shipping merchants, Mr. Barry at once took his place among the group of men who had reared their homes about lower Broadway towards the Battery, to be near their wharves and warehouses and from which they spun dreams of the commerce which would girdle the globe. It is probable that the first Barry home in New York was near that of Thomas Law, that East Indian merchant, son of the Bishop of Carlisle and brother of Lord Ellenborough, Lord Chief Justice of England, who squandered the largest actual fortune in this country at that day, a sum equal to about \$700,000, in speculating in real estate in the New Federal District. It is evident that Law and Barry were friends before the former came from Bombay to New York in 1794. Possibly they were associates in some shipping venture, for within a few months Law had organized the East Indian Company of North America and had despatched Barry to Philadelphia to become its manager. Hastening on the heels of his representative, Law met the elder of the adopted daughters of President Washington and Madam Martha, Elizabeth Parke Custis, fell violently in love and deferred all other affairs until those of the heart were adjusted. The marriage, which occurred in Hope Park, five miles from Fairfax Court House, Virginia, in the home of the bride's stepfather,

¹*Proceedings in Chancery. Administration Cases Docket H. J. No. 1790. Court House Records, Washington, D. C.*

Doctor Daniel Stuart, on March 21, 1796, was a brilliant social event at which Mr. Barry acted as best friend of the bridegroom. Clark in his excellent monograph, *Greenleaf and Law in the Federal City*, p. 237, says that on March 19 a marriage settlement had been drawn up between Thomas Law and Elizabeth Parke Custis with James Barry as trustee, but that on May 8, 1800, the union having turned out unhappily, Mr. Barry withdrew from this position in favor of Thomas Peter of Georgetown, who married the younger and more famous of the granddaughters of Martha Washington, Nellie Custis.

The directory of New York City for 1795 gives the Law residence as 47 Broadway. It was a glorious colony of merchant princes with homes of substantial comfort. James Greenleaf, the unhappy associate of Robert Morris, in that grim chapter of finance connected with Washington real estate which sent both to the debtors' prison, lived at 112 Liberty street, and Captain William Mayne Duncanson, another East Indian friend of Law and Barry, had a residence at 48 Broad street. James Ray, another shipper, afterward known in a broader field, lived in Greenwich street, and Trumbull, the military artist, and the learned Doctor Noah Webster dwelt near the end of Pine. The merchants flourished, while the painter and the scholar grew lean and wan, which led the witty Trumbull to remark when Webster had married Greenleaf's pretty sister, "In the present decay of arts and letters, I fear, the learned doctor and his bonny bride will be forced to breakfast upon institutes, dine upon dissertations and go to bed supperless."

Mr. and Mrs. Barry at once became affiliated with St. Peter's Church and were conspicuous in all its activities. The pious and tender will of Joanna is filled with references to those whom she and her husband knew in their first days in New York. These are invariably poor unfortunates whose rents she helped to pay and for whom, in several instances, she had for years provided homes from which she did not wish them disturbed. It was during these years, 1788 to 1794, that James Barry formed the friendship for William Magee Seton that resulted so beneficently for Seton's wife and children. In conjunction with his brother Redmond, Barry extended his activities in the commission line to Baltimore and in this way began an intimacy with Colonel John

Eager Howard, then Governor of Maryland. Colonel Howard, a distinguished revolutionary soldier, became the close personal friend of Mr. Barry and frequently entertained Mrs. Barry and her daughters in his beautiful home, Belvidere, on the outskirts of the Monumental City. Mrs. Howard was one of the three lovely daughters of Benjamin Chew of Philadelphia, her elder sister Harriet being Mrs. Charles Carroll of Carrollton. How staunch and loyal the Howards were to the Barrys in the hour of need is a worthy tribute to the character of all affected. Colonel and Mrs. Howard were likewise kind and helpful to the Barrys' friend, Mrs. Elizabeth Seton.

Allen C. Clark, in *Greenleaf and Law*, remarks that "the entanglements of those early residents and speculators of the new Capital are like those of the gnarled and impenetrable oak, and that though admittedly these men were of strong mentality and striking traits, their faith in the development of the Federal City exceeded the scriptural mustard seed and their financiering of it eclipses anything before and since that time and has its only parallel in the Mississippi Bubble." Assuredly Thomas Law shoulders James Greenleaf for first place in this array of reckless spend-thrifts, but there is no evidence that James Barry was ever consciously a speculator. He was logically influenced by his old friend Law, whom he knew to be a man of long head and sound business acumen. Law's fortune, unlike nearly all others affected, was represented by glittering guineas and not by notes of hand. And Mr. Barry saw these pouring, like the shower of Danae, into the coffers of Morris and Greenleaf, Nicholson and the syndicate.

Law purchased large tracts on Greenleaf's Point, an unattractive section at all times and never much other than a receptacle for refuse until the Government took it over in the Potomac Park area. Mr. Barry followed this lead and invested money thereabout which would have benefited him as greatly had it been scattered to the winds. Barry's story, judged from page after page of dreary records in the Washington City Court House, is one of over-confidence in the honesty and integrity of his fellow man. In nearly every instance, pressed by creditors, he is asking relief of the courts because of the failure of his friends to meet their indebtedness. There is a long drawn-out case against the

heirs of Notley Young to recover \$13,000, given for any parcel of real estate which Mr. Barry might select upon the maturing of the note. Greenleaf's Point and the entire section had by this time (1802) lost its popularity and Mr. Barry's selection of lots towards New Jersey avenue and the river front of what is now South Washington did not meet the approval of the heirs. Some twenty such cases are recorded in *Proceedings in Chancery* between 1798 and 1807, when Mr. Barry left Washington permanently and returned to New York. The combined sums would make a respectable fortune in these days and it was a very large one then.

Mr. Barry, convinced that the new Capital was to attract the trade of the world, removed nearly all his heavy interests from New York and centered them at his wharves built at the end of New Jersey avenue. Here he had erected a warehouse of mammoth proportions, long known as "Castle Thunder," and with everything in readiness, in August, 1795,² he waited for the tide of foreign commerce to surge in. Meantime he had purchased one of the fine mansions between the Capitol building and the home of Thomas Law (about New Jersey avenue), where he and Mrs. Barry entered into the social life of the era. Seemingly it was the happiest part of their twenty years in the New World, certainly the gayest, and fortunately it has many chroniclers. Thus, Shea in his *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, records, in several instances, that prelate's visits to the home of Mr. James Barry, to whose family he had become strongly attached. The sprightly wife of Dr. William Thornton, architect of the Capitol, gives dainty sketches of them in her diary, especially during the year 1800, when life took on a more elegant air and the administration had been removed from Philadelphia. She describes³ the home of Mr. and Mrs. Barry when she and Dr. Thornton, walking to the Capitol, were caught in a shower and ran in to find their host sitting by a fire, Mrs. Barry pouring tea and the daughters, now budded into lovely womanhood, playing or singing. Mr. Barry makes them drink hot wine and bitters and she promises to copy an Irish song, *The Coulin*, for Miss Ann Gould

²Bryan. *History of the National Capital*. New York, 1914, p. 247.

³*Diary of Mrs. William Thornton*. Edited by Worthington C. Ford and the Committee on Publication. Records of the Columbia Historical Society. Vol. X, 1907, p. 51, sq.

Barry, the second daughter. Again she and the Doctor are at dinner at the Barrys and meet Bishop Carroll. Next it is Dr. Caffrey of St Patrick's who is chief guest; or Colonel and Mrs. John Eager Howard, or some other of the celebrities of the day, including the stately Mrs. Law, who is, however, beginning to pass most of her time at Mount Vernon.

Mr. Barry had confidence firm enough in Greenleaf's Point to erect St. Mary's Church, or Barry's Chapel, as it was called, for the benefit of the Catholic residents of that section. During their Washington sojourn the Barrys had attended St. Patrick's Church. Through the courtesy of Father Francis Neale of Georgetown College a priest was despatched to St. Mary's whenever it was possible, and Bishop Carroll made it a mission from Holy Trinity. It was he who blessed the cornerstone and laid it in place, May 24, 1806. When Greenleaf's Point was a forsaken and forgotten spot and Barry's Chapel given over to ruin and desolation about 1819, this cornerstone was removed and preserved, later to become part of the foundations of the beautiful church of St. Dominic, a parish which takes in all the area of this former pioneer church of the District of Columbia. In the rectory of St. Dominic's may be found the following copy of the inscription:

"In the name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, Amen. The corner stone of a small Roman Catholic church is laid in the city of Washington, in the year of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus, one thousand eight hundred and six, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin under the name and title of Saint Mary's. *Gloria in excelsis Deo.*

"Erected by and at the charge of James Barry."

St. Mary's was, however, to have the saddest significance for those to whose generosity it owed existence. Miss Mary Barry, whose loveliness had attracted the homage of a young British diplomat, Sir Augustus Foster (later he was quite famous in statecraft during the War of 1812, but then filling a minor role), in fragile health for some years, suddenly developed rapid consumption and was soon laid to rest under the altar in the chapel. This same Augustus Foster wove a weird story about her burial in St. Mary's, the publication of which caused a furore among the friends of this estimable family.⁴ The recital, evidently wholly

⁴Foster. *The Two Duchesses*. Letters of Augustus Foster to his Mother, the Duchess of Devonshire. London, 1806, p. 198 sq.

a fiction, painted Miss Mary Barry under the flimsy disguise of Miss Adele Barron, daughter of the merchant prince, Mr. James Barron, as the victim of love for a young British diplomat, presumably himself, and being thwarted by her family, going into a decline and dying of grief. As Mr. Barry at this period was already in advanced stages of consumption, and the second daughter, Ann, had contracted it also, it is plain that the malady had a deeper than a sentimental root.*

James Barry died in New York on January 3, 1808. His affairs had become more and more entangled with those of Thomas Law. The sugar refinery, in which both had a dominant interest, after consuming all their ready cash, failed disastrously and all the buildings, including some of the warehouses built by Barry, were sold at public auction. Though his visible fortune had dwindled to pitiable proportions, there were argosies on the sea, which had gone forth laden with tobacco and grain and were expected to return with the wealth of the Orient. The original draft of his will was probated in New York City, on December 6, 1809, and in duplicate in Philadelphia, in Baltimore and Washington, where the deceased merchant still held mortgages and securities of value and had substantial property. All copies are signed by the Surrogate, Sylvanus Miller, and signed also by the original witnesses of the instruments, Father Lewis Sibour, who was rector of St. Peter's Church, New York; Joseph Idley, who was the sexton, and Jasper Moylan, attorney at law. It bears date, New York City, the twenty-fourth day of December, 1807. It is a brief document, devising the bulk of the estate in two shares to

*Seton. *Memoir, Letters and Journal of Elizabeth Seton*. New York, 1870. Vol. II. p. 79 sq. Contains the following letter addressed as a confidential communication to Bishop Carroll, November 22, 1807, from New York:

"Dear and Honored Sir: Mrs. Barry this morning expressed a wish that I should write to you on a subject which it is barely possible that she would bring herself to dwell on at the present moment, the most painful and distressing that can be imagined, that her daughter Ann is in rapid consumption and in more immediate danger than dear Mr. Barry himself."

In Bishop Carroll's reply, following immediately, may be read so stirring and complete a tribute to both husband and wife, that other comment seems superfluous. This is his comment on Joanna Gould Barry: "I regard her as the great example and model of your sex." He bids Mrs. Seton to keep him well informed, since "their health and everything relative to them are too near to my heart not to keep me always solicitous to hear of their progress."

Mrs. Barry and their daughter, Ann Gould. At the death of Mrs. Barry, and in case Ann died without heirs, the estate is devised minutely to a host of nephews and other kindred, with generous bequests to charities, principally to St. Mary's Church in Washington, D. C. The executors named are the Archbishop of Baltimore, Daniel Carroll of Duddington, John Eager Howard of Baltimore and the adopted son, James David Barry. The testator desired that his body be laid under the high altar of St. Mary's beside his dear daughter, Mary.

Scattered through the first hundred pages of Mgr. Seton's second volume of memoirs of his saintly grandmother, are found the most valuable biographical notes concerning this stricken family after their bereavement. In letters to various mutual friends, Mrs. Seton tells that Mrs. Barry, stunned with grief, was nevertheless making all arrangements possible to get her daughter out of New York, hoping a milder climate might prolong her days and how the cruel embargo declared by Napoleon against England thwarted her at every point. Finally she did get away to the Madeira Islands with the invalid on whom such hopes were centered. Then comes the letter a year later telling of the death there of Ann Gould Barry. There are brief references to Mrs. Barry's return, to place this treasure beside the others laid under St. Mary's, "in the sure and certain hope of a glorious resurrection."

Meantime, the executors had long since learned that, even before his death, James Barry's fortune had been swept away. A pathetic interest attaches to the will of Joanna Gould Barry, executed in the old home at Blackrock, near Cork, Ireland, where she had retired after the death of her last child. This was probated in Washington, D. C., on November 9, 1811, by Robert Brent, Judge of the Orphans' Court. Mrs. Barry, unaware that nothing remained of the proud fortune bequeathed in her husband's will, left additional sums to be realized from the merchant marine, to a large circle of relatives and friends. The legacies to the Goulds alone made a total of almost \$100,000, besides substantial additions which she had added to the legacies left the various Barry nephews and cousins. Then follows a long list of small bequests to her poor, of long standing debts which she desires canceled, of houses of which she is owner to be re-

paired and given over to the occupants in token of their faithful service. Every servant she had employed during her American residence is remembered, several get gifts of beds and bedding and useful household equipment. Several pages are filled with bequests to friends. (Mrs. Barry's will is written by herself, hence Robert Brent, who knew her well, testified under oath that this was by her hand.) Bishop Carroll, who had during the prosperous days always been so regularly aided in his Church activities, is given only personal souvenirs, two handsome volumes of French books, bound in gold and morocco, two volumes of Young's *Night Thoughts*, *Paradise Lost* and other books he is to distribute according to instructions. To Rev. John Hurley, at one time pastor of St. Augustine's, Philadelphia, is left Bishop Carroll's portrait by Gilbert Stuart and \$100. To Eliza Law, daughter of Thomas Law, her father's portrait by Stuart.

One gift which fixes attention is, "To Mrs. William Magee Seton, I leave \$500 and all my pious books, and to her daughter, who was the favorite of my daughter Ann, I know not whether Catherine or Rebecca, I leave together with my Ann's grand piano forte cabinets and all her music. A list of jewelry is also mentioned, bequests proving her grateful heart: "To Julianna, daughter of John Edgar (*sic*) Howard of Belvidere, a gold cross and a string of pearls; to Mrs. Howard, my largest diamond and my handsomest pair of bracelets." Mrs. Barry leaves definite instructions about the future endowment of St. Mary's Church, of the salary of the pastor and for the annual Masses, to be said for her dear husband and beloved daughters and herself. She then sketches the founding of two institutions, one for the education of poor Catholic boys and the other for aged women homeless and without means. All these were to be funded when the French and Spanish governments and the Bombay Company paid their debts and when the other liabilities—thousands owed by friends, other thousands tied up in the investments of friends—became assets.

That time never came. It is probable that James David Barry had a difficult task in executing what seemed to him the sacred duty of bringing his aunt's remains to this country to be placed in the vault at St. Mary's and of paying the indebtedness incurred during the long illness of the four members of the family. In the *Proceedings in Chancery*, there are acrimonious letters

from him to other members of the Barry family because of their impatience to get their miserable legacies. One letter is a burning arraignment of all, because they questioned his right, when after Barry's Chapel had been abandoned and the dead had been removed to St. Patrick's old cemetery, he had erected a suitable monument enclosed by a strong iron fence.

The close of the story is dreary and proves James David Barry the worthiest of the long line of kinspeople left by the great-hearted merchant. He married Julianna, daughter of Griffith Coombes, a prominent and successful business man of the early days of Washington, a staunch Catholic and promoter of all Catholic interests. Mr. Coombes, however, objected to his fortune getting mixed with any of the Barry entanglements. He succinctly states this in his will, made in 1845, tying up everything for his grandchildren so that his money would not go into the debts and engagements of James David Barry, debts which the poor fellow had taken on himself, in token of his affectionate and grateful appreciation of all that James and Joanna Barry had done in his behalf.

One of the anomalies of the law, is that though James Barry died insolvent in 1808, his estate was still being administered more than a century after. The last appearance of the familiar Case No. 1790, *in re* James Barry, bears date of January 11, 1911, and concerns the rights of the heirs of James Barry to the French spoliation claims declared in their favor by right of the bill passed in joint session of Congress in 1900. One of the argosies which Barry sent so hopefully to sea, the "Snow Fanny," was sunk by the French off the Barbary coast some time in 1810.

The term "snow" found so often in the records of the early American merchant marine refers to a vessel of peculiar rigging. Clark Russell and other nautical writers employ it habitually and it appears as a frequent entry on the court records. Thus, Benjamin Stoddert, a merchant of Georgetown, afterwards first Secretary of the Navy, and a contemporary and friend of James Barry, advertises in the *National Intelligencer* for sailors for the "Snow Apollo," which he is sending to Bermuda. Congress allowed these Barry heirs \$8,000 for the loss of the "Snow Fanny," whereas its owner valued it and the cargo at \$22,000. The Robert Barry who lived in Baltimore, and is mentioned so frequently

by Mrs. Seton, was the nephew of James, and it is his son James who conducted much of the litigation against his granduncle's executors.

Since a rigid scrutiny is now being turned on every detail of the life of Mother Seton, in addition to the current error of the date of her baptism, there is another error not so vital, of course, but still worthy of correction. Sister Mary Agnes McCann, Mrs. Sadlier, in fact nearly all who touch the Barry friendship for the saintly foundress of the Sisters of Charity, repeat the phrase, "that Bishop Carroll introduced her (Mother Seton) to the family of James Barry, a merchant of New York, at whose home she was ever welcomed with an abundant and cordial hospitality." Now, it is seemingly the very reverse of this. As for witness this extract of a letter from Mrs. Seton:

"January 16, 1808. I have met with a very serious loss in the death of Mr. James Barry, who, I believe I told you, had singled me out with his dear wife and presented themselves, entire strangers, solely for the esteem they felt for my dear husband."

The Barrys were such intimate friends of Bishop Carroll it is incredible they should have failed to mention one in whom they were so interested. There are references in the Bishop's letters to Mr. Felicchi that he knew his friends, the Barrys, were much attached to Mrs. Seton. All the biographers of Mrs. Seton invariably fall into her error, and that of Mrs. Barry, in calling their friend at Belvidere, near Baltimore, John Edgar Howard, when it can be none other than the revolutionary hero, the Governor of Maryland and Senator from that State from 1796 until 1802, Colonel John Eager Howard.

Old St. Patrick's cemetery has long since disappeared and with it the last resting place of this noble family. Of their vast fortune not a trace remains. The works of art which they had gathered were all scattered under the hammer of the auctioneer. But like the Psalmist, they knew such things to be vain and that he who storeth up, knoweth not who shall gather. Their hope was in the greater things than this life can give and their substance was safely guarded where good deeds are rewarded and the just receive their crown.

JAMES DONATIEN LERAY DE CHAUMONT

BY THE REV. J. L. TIERNEY

Settlement in that section of New York, later to become the county of Jefferson, was not begun at an early date in America's colonization period. During the last French and Indian War this region became known to the English troops and the American colonists, and in the Revolution was frequently chosen by the soldiery in passing to and from Canada. Nevertheless there appears to have been no permanent white settlement within the borders of the present county previous to 1797. Between the years 1793 and 1797 attempts were made to carry out in the Black River valley some elaborate colonization schemes by *La Compagnie de New York* of Paris, for the settlement of what was to be known as Castorland. Of poetic significance, at least, is the association of the date, July 4, as the time of embarkation from Havre of the pioneers of this ill-fated scheme. Its story is that "of an attempt of the exiled nobility and clergy of the old regime in France to found a settlement in the wilds of the New World, where they could find a secure retreat from the horrors of the Revolution in the Old." A little railroad station in Lewis County, called by an aristocratic-sounding name, but withal set merely in a wide level clearing of pasture-land and meadow, does poorest memory in these days to the "sore trials, bitter disappointment, final discomfiture and utter failure" of those abortive attempts at founding a great and pretentious Castorland. The present Lyons Falls, the present village of Dexter, then projected as the lake-port "City of Basle," and the present Carthage may trace their beginnings to the heroic, if frustrated, efforts of those years.²

It is with one who may be termed the heir apparent of such magnificently purposed hopes that the present study is directly concerned. As compared with 1797, the historic beginnings of actual settlement in the region, a date so early as 1800 of itself enshrines an otherwise conspicuous figure among the very ancients and fits his stature to the proportions of an immortal. Such becomes the name of James Donatien LeRay de Chaumont in the annals of

¹ Haddock: *History of Jefferson County*, p. 126.

² *Ibid.*, p. 128.

Jefferson County's colonization. Born November 13, 1760, at Chaumont-on-the-Loire, he died there December 31, 1840.

The year 1800, contemporaneous with the earliest uncontested date assigned as the beginning of settlement in Waterown,³ the county's metropolis, marks also the first connection of LeRay's name with the interests of this locality.⁴ At this time LeRay made his initial purchases from the Constable lands, 220,000 acres for \$46,315.12. Later purchases made him the virtual owner of all that portion of Jefferson County which lies north of the Black River, exception being made of what was known as Penet's Square, a tract ten miles square in the vicinity of Clayton. LeRay bought other extensive holdings in the area of Lewis, St. Lawrence and Franklin counties. Out of the LeRay tract in Jefferson County, in the course of a few years, were formed the townships of LeRay, Theresa, Philadelphia, Alexandria, Cape Vincent, Lyme and Wilna.

But the relationship which links the name of LeRay de Chaumont inseparably with the history of several townships of this vast section cannot, obviously, consist in the mere accident of ownership of these lands. Coming to this country from his native France, he became naturalized in 1795, and took up his residence in LeRaysville in 1808, three years after the formation of the county by the legislature, and there established his family. For a quarter of a century thereafter LeRay pursued a policy of "Americanization" so liberal, so intelligent and so public-spirited as to be described by a later historian as one whose "relations with the early settlement of Jefferson County (are) more intimate and important than those of any other person who preceded or came after him."⁵ Another writer states: "Indeed in all the vast Macomb tract there was no proprietor more generous and more respected than LeRay."⁶

If corroborating evidence for such assertions were to be asked, it has been left in plenty in the long list of names which bear witness to LeRay's intimate relationship to the progress and development of the various towns. First, there is the town of LeRay, named after the proprietor himself; and LeRaysville

³ Ibid., p. 210.

⁴ Ibid., p. 141.

⁵ Ibid., p. 334.

⁶ Emerson, *Jefferson County*, p. 665.

where his first land office in the north was opened, and where he established his home. At LeRaysville he built a notable villa, famed for its sumptuous hospitality and entertainment which attracted to this remote spot many of the first men of the nation, among them being numbered President Monroe.⁷ The stately mansion, one hundred and forty feet in dimension, still stands, suggestive of the princely style of living which characterized the sojourn here of this French gentleman of culture. The grounds and surroundings are still reminiscent of the cultivated taste and refinement which the proprietor was able to maintain while clearing the primitive forests. The township and the village of Theresa, developed under the immediate supervision of LeRay, were named for his daughter, who later became the Countess de Gouvillo. Likewise the town of Alexandria and the village of Alexandria Bay, known to all tourists of America as the gateway of the Thousand Islands, took their names from a son, who later became a colonel in Texas. The township and village of Cape Vincent bear the name of another son, who later succeeded to his father's estate, and who, by his public-spirited patronage, shared something of the reputation of his father. Here, too, LeRay built a mansion well suited for the elegant hospitality for which he was famed. The homeland of this home-promoter of hardy pioneers and expatriated refugees is recalled in the name of Chaumont, assigned to the delightful little village which nestles close to the spot where the great lakes merge into the mighty St. Lawrence. LeRay Street in the county's metropolis perpetuates the record of LeRay's intelligent and progressive interest in the agricultural development of the county. The name of LeRay's patron saint given to St. James' church, Carthage, and that of his son, invoked as the patron of St. Vincent de Paul's churches in Cape Vincent and Rosiere, testify to the worthy promoter's concern for the spiritual interests of his colonists and protégées.

Among all those interested in land promotion and colonization schemes in Jefferson County none is found to have taken a part so

⁷ Haddock, *op. cit.*, p. 335: "His bountiful hospitality and sumptuous entertainments attracted to his luxurious home many of the first men of the nation. President Monroe, in 1817, made a tour of inspection of the northern frontier. He arrived in Ogdensburg, August 1, 1817. . . . and passed through Rossie and Antwerp to enjoy the princely hospitality at the magnificent home of LeRay, and renewed a friendship contracted thirty years before."

active and personal and immediate as James LeRay. Macomb and Constable and Morris were promoters and proprietors and agents in the speculative or commercial sense; James LeRay came to his northern estates as a settler as well as promoter. If he had agents, he himself at least was supervisor and prime mover and actual director of his settlement and colonization programs. His interest was not merely that of the investor who tarries and waits for booms, nor that of the promoter who looks chiefly for big returns through extensive sales. His desire was to make rapid settlements, and hence we find that his land sales were made mostly in small parcels and to actual settlers, sales suited to the restricted wants and limited means of his purchasers.⁸ Sufficient time was given to complete payments and at times, money, even, was advanced to the settlers, and an extension of time for payment allowed. The settlers on their part were required to make a proper beginning by building a log house and clearing a minimum amount of the purchase annually. In developing the area of the town of Alexandria, LeRay even sent in settlers, paid them twelve dollars an acre for clearing the land and gave them one-half the first crop. In Theresa a plot of one thousand acres, and in Alexandria a plot one mile square were surveyed and set apart for developing villages.

LeRay's generous spirit of tolerance is well attested by numerous gifts of land for church, cemetery and school purposes, whereby he sought to encourage his settlers to provide for ideals and needs other than those material. Himself a Catholic, he nevertheless made contribution especially notable to the group of Quakers whom he settled (1804) upon that tract of land which they called Philadelphia, out of affection for the homeland from which they emigrated.⁹ To them LeRay donated a plot of four hundred and forty acres of land directly in the center of the section sold to them. This plot was "for the promotion of religion and learning; that is to say for the purpose of erecting thereon and supporting a meeting house for the society of people called Quakers, and a school or schools for the education of children in useful learning, to be under the care and direction of said society, and of a monthly meeting of said people when such

⁸ Haddock, *op. cit.*, p. 140; Emerson, *op. cit.*, 420., 432, 665.

⁹ Emerson, *op. cit.*, p. 747.

meeting shall be there established.¹⁰ In passing, it is of interest to note that the village of Philadelphia and its cemetery stand on the site of this original LeRay gift of land.

Thus liberal with a religious sect differing so totally from his own beliefs, it will not be surprising to find him generous in his gifts to Catholic settlers. The oldest Catholic church in this entire section of the State, St. James', Carthage, was permanently organized and the building begun in 1819.¹¹ It stands upon a spacious three-acre plot donated by LeRay, whose name, too, with that of his son, is found among the first trustees. A contemporary French traveller (Milbert *Itineraire Pittoresque du Fleuve d'Hudson*), who witnessed the dedication of the church, writes:¹² "On the most striking eminence rises a little church surmounted by its belfry. It was built at the expense of Mr. LeRay de Chaumont and is erected for the use of the Irish Catholics, who, with a certain number of Germans and Americans, constitute almost the entire population of the town. . . . It is to serve the double purpose of church and public school, for in the United States every district, how unimportant soever, is bound to have a school and maintain at its expense a teacher to instruct the children." A later writer, Henri de Courcy, writing in 1855 to the *Ami de la Religion* his *Essais sur L'Histoire de la Religion Catholique aux Etats Unis*, and commenting upon the sterling Catholic character of the Carthage settlers, says:¹³ "St. James' church at Carthage was built in the year 1819 by James LeRay, Esq., a Catholic gentleman who owned a large property there to which he drew many settlers, who with their descendants still occupy the spot directed by a clergyman brought up in their midst. Having had the advantage of living together under the shadow of the church they are as faithful to their religion as though they lived in the most favored Catholic country. . . . Their schools, made up exclusively of Catholics, are well attended and well conducted."

The actual settlement of the Carthage region is contemporaneous with the activities of LeRay. As a part of the attempt at opening the Black River valley, already mentioned, made by *La Com-*

¹⁰ Haddock, op. cit., p. 657.

¹¹ Hough, *History of Jefferson County*, p. 304 Haddock, op. cit., p. 775.

¹² Quoted by Shea: *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, vol. III, p. 182.

¹³ Shea: *The Catholic Church in the United States*.

pagnie de New York, a tract of one thousand acres was purchased in the proposed Castorland tract by James Boutin. Shortly after making an extensive clearing in 1798, and erecting several buildings, Boutin was drowned and the settlement was abandoned. James LeRay became administrator of the Boutin estate, which by purchase later passed to Vincent LeRay; from him all original titles to lands in Carthage have subsequently issued.¹⁴ Vincent LeRay established a land office in Carthage in 1835.

Another settlement effected largely through the influence and patronage of LeRay was what came to be known as French Settlement, together with the little hamlet at Rosiere, so called to perpetuate in the New World the memory of the French homeland. The settlement was made mostly by French exiles who had adhered to the fortunes of Napoleon and who were obliged to flee from the disasters that overtook the Empire. To these was added a considerable sprinkling of German immigrants. LeRay seemed, not unnaturally, to take more than ordinary interest in this particular settlement. The French and German immigrants, though rugged in health and determination, were possessed of little resources. They were accordingly helped by LeRay to the purchase of small tracts of land. Not infrequently, too, substantial aid was advanced by him. This immigration increased gradually and the colony grew, until eventually the French and German immigrants came into possession of the entire eastern region of the town of Cape Vincent, where they have been for a century an important element in Jefferson County history. The settlement, a considerable community, comprised almost exclusively of the descendants of these hardy pioneers, has maintained its distinct identity down to the present time. There has been very little intermixture of the popularly called "native" or "American" stock, but a community of exclusively "American" stock could hardly be found in the entire United States more thoroughly imbued with a love of American institutions, or more whole-heartedly loyal to democratic ideals. The present descendants possess to a charming degree, and with a naturalness which marks them quite to the manner born, that grace and polish which are such delightful traits of the French character, and of which poverty

¹⁴ Emerson, *op. cit.*, p. 853.

and hardiness of life in the woodland failed to despoil their forbears.

As in Carthage, the pioneers of Rosiere and French Settlement were practically all Catholics. Through the generosity of Mr. LeRay they very early secured a church. A farm of one hundred acres of the very finest soil in the section, given by Mr. LeRay, is still owned by the Rosiere parish. The cornerstone of the first church was laid in 1832 and it was dedicated to St. Vincent de Paul. Rosiere thus became the parent Catholic church of a large surrounding territory. Carthage was for several years its nearest neighbor. The Rosiere church precedes a permanent church in Watertown (1838)¹⁵ by six years, in Clayton¹⁶ (1843) by eleven years, and in Cape Vincent¹⁷ (1850) by eighteen years.

To represent that this interesting settlement, its pioneers and their present descendants, have made notable contribution to an ideal American citizenship, is to pay them a tribute to which they are justly entitled. To insist that the mainsprings of that contribution are to be sought in the characteristic French love of homeland, and the equally noteworthy loyalty of the French to religious convictions, is only to disendow them of a cheap patronage which commentators of local history bestow upon them. To the alleged infusion of a "native American stock" these latter are wont to attribute whatever fine traits of citizenship a typically immigrant community is found to possess. With what tenacity those pioneers clung to such indispensable principles of citizenship is reflected in the account which has been handed down of the cornerstone laying in Rosiere. This occurred "with imposing ceremony in 1832. On that occasion the French settlers, most of whom, if not all, had been soldiers under Napoleon, assembled, dressed in full uniform, finding their way from distant points by means of blazed trees, determined that for once a Bishop should be received here as was the custom in France. The basement of the church was already completed and appropriately decorated; the uniformed and armed veterans were drawn up in line, and upon the approach of the Bishop and Mr. LeRay, who was the donor of the church and grounds, arms were presented and the

¹⁵ Emerson, p. 384; ¹⁶ Haddock, *op. cit.*, p. 526; ¹⁷ *Id.*, p. 490.

ceremonies proceeded, closing amid volleys of musketry and general rejoicing."¹⁸

A further association with the development of the early history of this section of the county, through the instrumentality of Mr. LeRay, was that of the French exiles who came to the neighborhood of Cape Vincent village, possibly of less general permanence, but equally noteworthy for the distinguished character of the émigrées connected with it. Reference has already been made to the proposed Castorland settlement schemes of *La Compagnie de New York*, by which it was planned to provide a secure asylum for the exiled French nobility; schemes which proved "utterly impracticable and bitterly disappointing as a reality." Pierre Chassanis had been the principal agent in Europe of *La Compagnie*, and in his name the estate had been purchased. His avowed purpose had been to furnish small farms for French refugees, who were leaving France in large numbers, owing to the disturbances resulting from the Revolution.¹⁹ Chassanis died in 1803. He was a brother-in-law of LeRay and the latter by purchase eventually came into possession of the Chassanis holdings. LeRay seems also to have become the sole executor of the frustrated designs of the proposed Castorland. At all events we find the original plans of Chassanis carried out to some degree

¹⁸ Haddock, p. 489. Bishop Dubois of New York officiated at this ceremony. (Smith: *History of the Diocese of Ogdensburg*, p. 125.) Cf. also Shea: *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, vol. III., p. 500-501: "Bishop Dubois set out after Easter (1832) to make a visitation of the interior of the State. . . . In no fewer than eighteen places in the northern and western parts of the State, Bishop Dubois found Catholics numerous enough to establish churches and maintain resident priests." New interest attaches to the solicitude of LeRay and his Catholic settlers, providing a church here in 1832, when it is recalled that as late as 1829-30 a frame house served for a church in Buffalo. (Shea, III, p. 201-202.) At Rome the church was dedicated in 1837. (Shea, *Ibid.*, p. 515.) In fact, in the entire diocese of Bishop Dubois, embracing all of New York State, there appears to have been, in 1829-30, only the following Catholic churches: Four in New York City; one in Brooklyn; one in Paterson, New Jersey, and one each in Albany, Utica, Carthage, Auburn and Rochester. Churches were building at Newark, Macoupin and New Brunswick, New Jersey, and at Troy, Salina and Buffalo, New York, and at Albany a second church. (Shea, *Ibid.*, p. 204.) In all the territory of the northern part of New York State, now comprising the diocese of Ogdensburg, LeRay's Catholic settlements of Carthage and Rosiere were the first to have permanent and substantial church structures. (Cf. Smith: *History of the Diocese of Ogdensburg*.) Exception is alone to be made of the Indian hamlet and parish of St. Regis on the St. Lawrence River, which had a church structure from 1762. (Smith, *Ibid.*, p. 188.)

¹⁹ Haddock, p. 339.

through the influence and agency of LeRay in the early days of Cape Vincent.

Distinguished among the French noblemen whose names thus came to figure in that early history are:²⁰ "Peter Francis Real, chief of police under Napoleon, known in French history as Count Real; Marshal Grouchy, the distinguished military leader, whose tardiness at Waterloo dissipated the glory of Napoleon, and changed the destiny of France; Hasler, an eminent French philosopher; Pigeon, secretary to Real, an astronomer of more than passing note, and esteemed for his scholarly attainments; Louis Peugnet, an officer of Napoleon and the latter's friend and adviser." Interest further attaches to this noted colony because of the hope entertained by them of rescuing Napoleon from his prison-home on St. Helena and bringing him to join their number in this Jefferson County retreat. A house, designed especially to become the home of the exiled Emperor, was actually built at Cape Vincent.²¹ Called, from its peculiar construction, the "cup and saucer house," it was for many years a point of interest and distinction in the town. Napoleon died in 1821; an amnesty was granted to political exiles, and many of these refugees returned to France.

As originally we are indebted to French capital and enterprise for the earliest efforts to settle the Black River country, so it is owing to French capital and enterprise, under the inspiration and guidance of Mr. LeRay, that the "small theatre of this county was to witness the process of moulding into common citizenship the elements of Bourbon aristocracy and of Napoleonic impulsiveness";²² from which has emerged an intelligent, sturdy, patriotic type of American citizenship as distinct as it is distinctive. Cape Vincent owes not only its development, but likewise its founding to James LeRay. Somewhat earlier, indeed, about 1801, a projected village had been planned and beginnings of a settlement made by Captain Abijah Putnam, at a point four miles down the river, then known as Port Putnam, and now known as Millen's Bay. In 1804 Putnam sold his interests and left the locality. The proposed settlement was totally abandoned in 1811²³ in favor

²⁰ Haddock, p. 334; Emerson, op. cit., p. 518-19.

²¹ Haddock, op. cit., p. 479.

²² Haddock, p. 329.

²³ Emerson, op. cit., p. 517.

of plans of LeRay at Gravelly Point where the proprietor designed a plot one mile square, which came to be called Cape Vincent in honor of his son.

Thus James LeRay's contribution to the early settlement and development of Jefferson County is seen to have extended over practically one-half its present total area. For slightly more than a quarter of a century he was promoter and prime mover in everything that held out promise of progress and betterment. While the settlers were still engaged in making clearings, LeRay was engaged in opening and clearing roads. When we are reminded that distances now traversed in an hour's time by the popular Ford, then required at certain times of the year eight to ten days of laborious journeying; and if we contemplate the distances within the LeRay area of development, as recorded on a modern speedometer, we may be able to form some adequate notion of LeRay's contribution in road-building through virgin forests, through undrained marshes, and unredeemed swamps, and over unbridged rivers and streams. A map of LeRay roads would include the road known as the Alexandria road, from Carthage through Philadelphia and Theresa to the St. Lawrence at Alexandria Bay;²⁴ the road from Theresa to Hammond,²⁵ which later formed part of a military road; the road from Evans' Mills to Theresa.²⁶ The road from Cape Vincent to Brownville.²⁷ LeRay was also the "leading spirit" of the St. Lawrence Turnpike Company, a company of twenty-nine leading landholders of Northern New York, which in 1812-13 built a turnpike from a point five miles north of Carthage to Bangor, near Malone, in Franklin County. The company for fifteen years was one of the most prominent corporations of the county.²⁸ Saw mills, grist mills and taverns, indispensable during colonization periods, were built by LeRay at Theresa, on Guyot Island, at Cape Vincent; for the scattered settlers in the vicinity of Plessis; a forge and blast furnace at Carthage; a powder mill at Slocum's Mills, later turned over to making starch from potatoes.

To recapitulate LeRay's donations for churches: at Philadelphia for the Quakers;²⁹ for the Presbyterians at LeRay; for the Baptists at Evans' Mills;³⁰ for the Catholics at Carthage,

²⁴ Emerson, p. 853. ²⁵ Emerson, p. 432. ²⁶ Emerson, p. 806.

²⁷ Emerson, p. 259. ²⁸ Emerson, p. 258; Haddock, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

²⁹ Haddock, *op. cit.*, p. 657. ³⁰ Haddock, *op. cit.*, p. 623.

Rosiere and Clayton, is only to present, in connection with his other liberal and public-spirited works, a composite picture of his entire contribution to Jefferson County development. Hardly any phase of that development is unrelated to LeRay's efforts. Living in a rural and agricultural district, he likewise made intelligent and generous contribution to the specific needs of such a district. Thus we read of him importing fine blooded horses, cattle and sheep to improve the stock. In the town of Theresa on the newly made pasture-land, it is claimed that he kept as many as 500 sheep, sixty head of cattle and twenty horses.⁸¹ Nor was his interest in agricultural development merely local or personally remunerative. Mr. LeRay had been one of the most prominent movers in the formation of the State's first county agricultural society in Otsego County, in 1817. Likewise the first "cattle show and fair" of the Jefferson County Agricultural Society held on LeRay Street in 1818, was brought about through the encouragement and patronage of Mr. LeRay, who offered to furnish money to pay the premiums.⁸² The society, although reorganized at different times in its history, has continued to be one of the permanent institutions of the county, never having lost its identity, and never having failed to hold an annual exhibition. Its first president was James LeRay, who continued in the office up to 1829. His son, Vincent, was later president of the society from 1832 to 1836. So, too, when an act of incorporation was secured for the society in 1828, the name of LeRay appears first on the list of the incorporators. The object of the society as stated in the original articles of association was, "the promotion of agricultural and rural economy," and the articles further provide that "no salary or pecuniary reward shall be allowed to any officers or committee of this society for discharging their official duties."

That Mr. LeRay's interests in America were not circumscribed by narrow and selfish motives for personal aggrandizement is further attested by his relation to the Erie Canal project. In 1812 he was appointed by Governor Morris and DeWitt Clinton to negotiate in Europe a loan of six million dollars for the contemplated canal. Due to the outbreak of the war the project was

⁸¹ Emerson, *op. cit.*, p. 807.

⁸² Haddock, p. 622; Emerson, p. 246; 326.

unsuccessful at the time. Later, with the completion of the canal which LeRay had labored to promote, the tide of immigration and settlement set so strongly in the course of that highway of trade and traffic as very considerably to depreciate the value of lands in the north.⁸³ Thus it came about that LeRay's broad and public-spirited interest eventually contributed to his own undoing and financial disaster. Unable to encounter the adverse results of the westward emigration, felt by all the landholders through the northern counties, LeRay was forced into insolvency in 1825, and surrendered his estates to his son in trust for his creditors. To appreciate the extent to which his private interests were jeopardized by his wider public interests, it is necessary to note the extent of his estates at the time disaster came upon him. In 1825 LeRay published a statement for distribution among his creditors, setting forth the kind and quantity of property at his disposal to meet his liabilities: in Franklin County, 30,759 acres, valued at \$22,500; in St. Lawrence County, 73,947 acres, valued at \$106,000; in Lewis County, 100,000 acres, valued at \$133,000; and in Jefferson County, 143,500 acres, valued at \$574,000; a total of 348,206 acres, valued at \$835,500.⁸⁴

Such was LeRay de Chaumont as a land-promoter and settler of small means. "If this distinguished man had a fault as a land-owner," writes an historian of Jefferson County, "it was in being over-indulgent in allowing payments to pass by, and too willingly listening to the complaints of settlers, by which both himself and his purchasers unfortunately were the losers."⁸⁵ Verily, in these times, an unfamiliar-sounding characterization of a man of such large interests! Again we read of him, that after the disaster which nearly swept away his entire fortune, LeRay "continued to live in the town, until its resources were developed, gaining the admiration and esteem of the county's entire people."⁸⁶ Recourse to the insolvency act was no mere subterfuge for evading debts. These were duly provided for and the settlement of Mr. LeRay's affairs was so well managed as to satisfy in full all the claims of his creditors.

James LeRay deserves to be memorialized throughout the County of Jefferson, as well for his outstanding high personal character

⁸³ Haddock, p. 142; Emerson, p. 41.

⁸⁴ Haddock, p. 336.

⁸⁵ Haddock, *op. cit.*, p. 334. ⁸⁶ Emerson, *op. cit.*, p. 666.

as for his public-spirited interest and sympathy in all that concerned the public welfare. He is described as an exemplary family man; a man of dignified and courteous manner, of strong mind and sound judgment; possessed of great penetration of men and things, of affectionate heart and noble soul, and of high and chivalrous feelings of integrity.⁸⁷ He was "strong in his faith of the Roman Catholic religion, in whose traditions he firmly believed and to whose consecrated rites he strictly adhered."⁸⁸ He never meddled actively in politics, and this, added to the other traits of his character, made him respected and beloved in France and in America.

Aloofness from politics must not be accepted in the person of James LeRay to indicate indifference to the spirit of American institutions and ideals. Political activity is but one medium of their expression. Of their innate meaning and their inspiring appeal LeRay had quaffed at the same sources which helped slake the thirst for liberty of a Lafayette. He had learned the country's language from close association with one of the very founders of the Republic, Benjamin Franklin. From Franklin LeRay had gathered acquaintance with American affairs.⁸⁹ It was at a house loaned to Franklin by the father of LeRay that the Commissioner of the United States lived in France. And it was because of the elder LeRay's whole-hearted espousal of the cause of American independence that the latter abandoned his prominence in public life in order, as an individual, to serve as intermediary between the government and the commissioners sent by the struggling colonies. These emissaries might not be openly received by the French court. James LeRay was a young man of sixteen years when the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed, and thus his sympathies became thoroughly impregnated with the purpose and spirit of the American revolutionists. His father sent a cargo of powder to Boston in care of the French Consul General, and wrote to disclaim any claim for settlement should the Americans not be successful. Large equipments to Lafayette's army and ships equipped for Paul Jones' squadron are among the credits of the elder LeRay to the American Revolution. These also became the memories which

⁸⁷ Durant-Pierce, *History of Jefferson County*, p. 434 sq.

⁸⁸ Haddock, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

⁸⁹ Durant-Pierce, *op. cit.*, p. 432.

inspired the junior LeRay, later of Jefferson County, and energized so fruitfully in the upbuilding of that section of the new Republic which came within reach of his influence. James LeRay had accompanied his father to L'Orient to superintend with him the equipment and management of the combined fleet of the French and American governments. When the American Revolution had been won, and the Declaration of Independence had been vindicated and achieved, then it was that James LeRay came to America, in 1785, at the age of twenty-five years, to effect a settlement of his father's claims. Not until 1790, and with the help of Franklin, could he obtain the desired settlement, returning to France only in time to save his father from the most painful consequences of the long delays.⁴⁰ During this visit he married the daughter of Charles Coxe, of New Jersey, a non-Catholic.

LeRay, while in America settling his father's claims, secured a small tract of land in Otsego County. In connection with his achievements in Jefferson County, it is of interest that LeRay built the first saw mill in Otsego County, and it will be recalled that in this county also LeRay much later was instrumental in promoting the first county fair in New York State. To Otsego County, as his agent, LeRay sent the celebrated Judge Cooper, father of the noted American author. His first agent in Jefferson County was Pierre Joulin, the *Curé* of Chaumont, who was thus to be saved from the guillotine, after refusing to take the Constitutional Oath prescribed by the revolutionists. Joulin "remained there several years and became the object of the veneration and love of the numerous persons with whom he had relations." After the troubles in France had subsided Joulin returned to his native land.⁴¹

From 1808 to 1832 LeRay made his home in Jefferson County, making periodical visits to France. In 1836 he made a last voyage to America and spent the summer, returning again to

⁴⁰ Durant-Pierce, op. cit., p. 432 sq.

⁴¹ Haddock, op. cit., p. 621. This priest was the first missionary, as far as known, that lived at Carthage, or in the neighborhood of that settlement. That his devotion to the old Faith in his native land, which came near costing him his life, and was followed by years of exile, was not attended by the active services of religion in his new home at Carthage, is not easily supposable. (Cf. *An Early Catholic Settlement*, Rev. Thomas C. Middleton, O.S.A., D.D., in *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, X, No. 1, p. 41-42.)

France, where he died in 1840, at the age of eighty, his mind, meanwhile, notes a writer, "still bent towards America, and seizing every opportunity of being useful to his adopted country."²

² Durant-Pierce, *op. cit.*, p. 434.

ANN GLOVER, FIRST MARTYR TO THE FAITH IN NEW ENGLAND

By GEORGE FRANCIS O'DWYER

In the latter part of the seventeenth century, the witchcraft delusion spread from Boston through New England like a pestilence, and the feverish imaginings of church and town officials, led by Cotton Mather and his clientele, were conveyed to the people by mouth, writings and suggestions. In a short time, intermittent brainstorms seized prominent men, women and children in the communities. Well-meaning women, young and old, were accused of witchcraft and with being agents of the devil, and were made to feel the effects of the prevalent distemper, which was, in most cases, fomented by erratic ministers of the Puritan church.

In the Massachusetts Bay or Puritan settlements, at that period, were probably a dozen Catholics who braved this hypocritical mania and its subsequent storm of hallucinations. Most of these pioneers of the Faith in Boston were allowed to remain only by sufferance. In times of trouble and distress, they were always singled out as likely subjects on whom the wrath of official zealots could easily be vented. Thus, when the witchcraft delusion came upon Boston and Salem between 1685 and 1692, the wrath and bigotry of the overwrought Puritan settlements were visited upon poor, inoffending Catholic, Quaker and English women, whose only defense was their honesty and sincerity in their chosen faiths. This, against the combined wiles of ministers, town and province officials, and their uncharitable neighbors.

In Boston town, at this period, lived Ann Glover and her daughter Mary, who had arrived about the year 1680 from the Barbadoes. They had been deported, like so many others, from Ireland to the West Indies in the time of Cromwell.

Harold Dijon, in a sketch in the *Ave Maria* (1905), states "that Ann Glover had been living in Boston for some years previous to her execution in 1688. It is not known what part of Ireland she came from. She herself has stated that she and her husband were sold to the Barbadoes in the time of Cromwell. She also related, that, shortly after the birth of her daughter, her husband

was 'scored to death and did not give up his religion, which same I will hold to.' It is possible that Mrs. Glover (Goody Glover she was called in Boston) came in that train of servants and Indian slaves, brought to the Puritan colony from the Barbadoes, some of whom fell to the Rev. Mr. Parris of Salem fame."

During their first years in Boston, Goody Glover and her daughter Mary were forced to do the most menial work because of their "Papistical inclinations" and washed the clothes and ironed the linen of Puritan families near the water front. At times, Goody Glover was called in to help as laundress to the better-class families who lived near the province house. In these homes, the brave old Irishwoman, firm in her faith, was not intimidated by the proselyting tactics of her employers. Mrs. Glover and her daughter acted also as nurse and maid to the children of certain families, among which was that of John Goodwin, a mason, in Boston.

In the midsummer of 1688, four of the children of Goodwin began to be afflicted with pains in different parts of their anatomy. Martha, the oldest, was thirteen; John, eleven; Mercy, seven, and Benjamin, five. The origin of this attack dated back to the year before (1687), when Martha charged Mrs. Glover's daughter, Mary, with purloining her clothes, probably as the result of a childish quarrel. As a climax, Mary (who probably was tantalized on account of her Catholic religion) cried out: "You may have us whipped, but to the sermons we will not go!" Thereat, Martha fell into a fit which "the learned (?) physicians of Boston declared to be diabolical." Of course the news of the child's tantrums, and the conversation leading up to it, leaked out and were duly magnified by the Goodwin family, and it spread like wildfire, in the impressionable Puritan community. The fact that the Glovers were Catholics only made matters worse for them. Finally, Mrs. Glover and her daughter were discharged from the Goodwin household, and were, ever afterward, marked figures wherever they went. As a result, they were in "sore straits, as none would now employ them. Had it not been for the sympathy of Robert Calef (a prominent English merchant) the two would have starved."

Calef, afterward, was their sole defender in the community, against the ridiculous imaginings of Cotton Mather and his coterie of ministers, who seized upon the honest Irish washerwoman as a

fitting subject on whom to vent their delusions and theories, not to mention fanaticism.

John Goodwin, the father of the "afflicted children" (who was a "pillar" of the old North church, of which Mather was pastor), and who, at different times, had tried his proselyting tactics unsuccessfully on the Glovers while they were in his house, now began to ascribe the sudden fits of his children to the "Papistical teaching" of the old Irish laundress and her daughter, and brought the case to Cotton Mather.

That worthy, who cordially hated all things of a Catholic nature, was only too glad to fall in with Goodwin's fears and counseled him to report the occurrences to the magistrates, which was done forthwith. And now Cotton Mather, the impressionable Pharisee, as if in answer to his "fasting and prayer," decided that the Glovers must be "disciples of the devil and the Papists," and the authors of the bewitching of Goodwin's children. He made the case the fourth subject of his chapter on "Preternatural Visitations" in his *Magnalia*. In this narrative, he writes:

"The oldest of the children saw cause to examine their laundress, the daughter of a scandalous Irishwoman in the neighborhood, about some linen that was missing, and the woman (Goody Glover) bestowing very bad language on the child, in her daughter's defense, the child (Martha) was immediately taken with odd fits that carried in them something diabolical. It was not long before one of her sisters, with two brothers, were horribly taken with the like fits (which were probably only childish tantrums) which the most experienced physicians pronounced extraordinary and preternatural." At this point, in his description of the tantrums of the children, Mather lets out his imaginings to an abnormal degree, and the reader of the *Magnalia* is regaled with this nonsense:

"Sometimes, they (the children) were deaf; sometimes dumb; sometimes blind; and often, all this at once. * * * they made piteous outcries that they were cut with knives, and stricken with blows, and the plain prints of the wounds were seen on them. * * * their necks would be broken so that their neck bone would seem dissolved unto them that felt after it. * * * their mouths were forc'd open to such a wideness that their jaws went out of joint; their tongues would be drawn down their throats and then pulled out upon their chins to a prodigious length!"

And so, *ad libitum*. And this nonsense was written by the most learned man in the settlements, a man who spoke seven languages!

Poor old Ann Glover, sorely tormented and reviled, and even stoned because of her Catholic religion and her quaint Irish mannerisms, was ascribed to be author of all these grotesque visitations, and the "magistrates, being awakened by the noise of these grievous and horrid occurrences, examined the person (Mrs. Glover) who was under the suspicion of having employ'd these troublesome demons, and she gave such a wretched account of herself that she was committed unto the gaoler's custody." (*Magnalia*, Andrus edition, p. 397).

Joshua Moody, minister to the first church in Boston, writing to his friend, Dr. Increase Mather, in London, August 4, 1688, commenting on the affair, says:

"Complaint was made to the judges, & compassion had so far, that the women (Goody Glover and her daughter) were committed to prison & are there now. * * * Wee cannot but think the devil has an hand in it, by some instrum't."

Constables of the town were empowered to search the humble abode of the old Irish washerwoman and her daughter near the waterfront and "certain images were found in secret." Among them were a cross and a crucifix.

Ann Glover, deserted by all, except the Calef family and Dame Nourse, a good-hearted Englishwoman from Salem, was "loaded with chains" and thrown into the town prison which then stood on the site of the present City Hall. Here, the distracted old woman suffered until her farcical trial, which took place on November 15, 1688, in the old Court House, not far from the present site. "As no provision was made to feed prisoners in Massachusetts at that time, her condition must have been one of great distress. The Calefs continued to succor her" and Dame Nourse called to bring food and practical consolation.

Ann Glover, brought to trial, was cross-examined by a clique of five of the greatest hypocrites who ever occupied a court room, coached by the arch-Pharisee, Mather. The latter writes thus of the trial in his *Magnalia*:

"This woman (whose name was Glover) was brought upon her trial; but then, the court could have no answers from her but in the Irish, which was her native language, although she under-

stood English very well; the interpreters were made sensible that a *spell* had been laid by another witch on *this* to prevent her telling tales, by confining her to a language which, it was hoped, nobody would understand. * * * to make all clear, the Court appointed five or six physicians to examine her very strictly, whether she was no way craz'd in her intellectuals. Divers hours they spent with her; and, in all that, while no discourse came from her but what was agreeable, particularly when they asked her what would become of her soul, she reply'd, You ask me a very solemn question, and I cannot tell what to say to it. She profest herself a Roman Catholic and could recite her Pater Noster in Latin very readily. In the upshot, the Doctors returned her *compos mentis* (of sane mind) and sentence of death was passed upon her." (*Magnalia*, pp. 397-8.)

In his *More Wonders of the Invisible World* Robert Calef (the only defender of Mrs. Glover in Boston) gives this resume of the Glover case:

"In the times of Sir Edmund Andros' government, Goody Glover, a despised, ill-conditioned old woman, an Irish Roman Catholic, was tried for afflicting Goodwin's children; but the account of which trial, taken in shorthand for the jury, it may appear that the generality of her answers were nonsense and her behaviour like one distracted, yet the doctors finding her, as she had been for many years, brought her in *compos mentis* (sane); and setting aside her crazy answers to some ensnaring questions, the proof against her was wholly deficient. The jury brought her in guilty. Mr. Cotton Mather was the most active and most forward young minister in the country in those matters, taking home one of the children and managing such intrigues and printing an account of the whole in his 'Memorable Providences' as conduced much to the kindling of those flames that in Sir William (Phip's) time, threatened the destruction of the country."

In his *Genealogical Dictionary of New England*, James Savage, careful Puritan as he was, sums up this nineteenth century verdict of the Glover case:

"Four of Goodwin's children in 1688, being possessed with a spirit of childish mischief, sadly perplexed and fooled Cotton Mather so as to cause Mrs. Glover, the washerwoman, to be convicted of dealing with the devil, and hanged, as in his *Magnalia* is told. By these infant instructors, the learned author (Mather)

was adequately prepared for the honors (?) he gained in the doleful tragedies of 1692, enacted at Salem."

In his *History of New England*, John A. Palfrey, the Puritan historian, describing the trial of Ann Glover, writes:

"The poor washerwoman, crazed with all this pother (the bickering and nonsensical examination of Mather and the judges)—if, in her right mind before, and defending herself unskillfully in her foreign gibberish (the Irish language) and with the volubility of her race, was interpreted as making some confession. A gossiping witness testified that six years before, she had heard the woman say that she had seen the accused come down a chimney. She (Mrs. Glover) was required to repeat the Lord's Prayer in English, an approved test of innocence; but she had never learned it in that language; she could recite it, after a fashion, in Latin, but she was no scholar and made some mistakes. The helpless wretch was convicted and sent to the gallows. Cotton Mather took the oldest afflicted girl to his home where she dexterously played upon his self-conceit, to stimulate his credulity." (Vol. IV, p. 99.)

St. John Seymour, a present-day writer on witchcraft, comments thus on the case:

"Making her (Mrs. Glover) repeat the Lord's Prayer, all the time watching for *lapsus linguæ*, and thence drawing deductions as to her being in league with the devil was particularly absurd in the case of such a person as Mrs. Glover, whose memory was confused by age. * * * It is possible, too, that some of the fits of the Goodwin children were due to conscious imposture; and, certain it is, that the deep-rooted belief of the self-opinionated Cotton Mather, in the truth of such things, as well as the flattering his vanity received, contributed, very largely, to the success of the whole incident." (*Irish Witchcraft and Demonology*, Baltimore, 1913.)

A Catholic view of this unique cross-examination is found in Rev. James Fitton's *Catholic Church in New England* (p. 55):

"English, she (Mrs. Glover) could scarcely speak; and, on being put on the usual tests, one of which was the repetition of the Lord's Prayer, she repeated it in Irish, but, as it was not understood, they required more. She repeated it in Latin, but not quite correctly; in English she could not, as she never learned it. This, however, corroborated the testimony of the girl (Martha), her

accuser, and the poor Irishwoman was hanged because she would not pray in a language, foreign to her, and unknown, and, strangely enough, for not praying in pure Latin!"

Bancroft, in his *History of the United States* (Vol. II, p. 52), says ::

"The magistrates, William Stoughton being one of the judges, all holding commissions exclusively from the English king, and all irresponsible to the people of Massachusetts, with a 'vigor,' which the united ministers commended as 'just,' made a 'discovery of the wicked instrument of the devil,' and, convicted as a witch (Ann Glover), was executed."

The night of her condemnation, Mather pursued Mrs. Glover in jail, and prevented the now crazed old woman from getting a few hours sleep before her execution. In his "Memorable Providences," the credulous Puritan divine writes:

"She entertained me with nothing but Irish, which Language I had not Learning enough to understand, without an Interpreter. * * * I offer'd many Questions unto her, unto which, after long silence, she told me, She would fain give me a full Answer but *they* would not give her leave. It was demanded '*They!*' Who is that '*they!*' and she return'd that *They* were the Spirits of her Saints (for they say the same word in Irish signifies both). * * * I ask'd her whether she would consent or desire to be pray'd for. To that, she said, If prayer will do her any good shee could pray for herself. And, when it was again propounded, she said, She could not, unless her spirits (or angels) would give her leave. However, against her will, I pray'd with her, which, if it were a Fault, it was in excess of Pitty!" ("Memorable Providences.")

On November 16, 1688, the poor, lone sufferer went to her martyrdom, accompanied by a mocking, shouting rabble. Judge Sewall, the accurate commentator of the period, in his *Diary*, has this note:

"Nov. 16, 1688—The Widow Glover is drawn by (his house) to be hanged. Mr. Larkin seems to be Marshal. The Constables attend and Justice Bullivant there."

The procession ended at a point on Gallows Bay (now the South End of Boston) which is occupied today, through a strange coincidence, by Holy Cross Cathedral. This is the claim of an experienced investigator, who has made special researches in ancient places of hangings in Boston. He declares that "Goody

Glover was hung on a scaffold which was built directly where now stands the holy water font in the present Cathedral."

A contemporary chronicler of the execution writes: "There was a great concourse of people to see if the Papist would relent (abjure her Catholic faith) * * * her one cat was there, fearsome to see. They would to destroy the cat, but Mr. (Robert) Calef would not permit it. Before her executioners she was bold and impudent, making to forgive her accusers and those who put her off. * * * She predicted that her death would not relieve the children (a prediction which came true), saying that it was not she that afflicted them."

The bigoted Puritan mob, exhorted by the frenzy of Mather, reviled and mocked the lone figure on the scaffold to the last. The pious, steadfast Irishwoman, up to the time that she was swung into eternity, clasped to her breast one of the "secret images" (a crucifix). Thus died the first martyr to the Faith in New England.

Of Goody Glover's daughter, Mary, who all this time had borne the sufferings, stonings and revilings of the Puritan populace, we know but little. But it is certain that, after thirty-two weeks an object of the bitterest calumnies and tortures, in the gloomy prison, where her mother was incarcerated up to the time of her execution, her mind gave way under the strain, and she died in the spring of 1689 a raving maniac.

The upholders of Mather are few in this period of the world's history, and the few are apologists. With all due regard to his intelligence; with all due credit to the good he did in the Puritan community (and it was negligible), the careful reviewer of his life and works finds, in startling prominence, a gigantic conceit; a colossal vanity, and an evident fanaticism, in his written volumes, which, today, are buried in the dust of oblivion. His biographers cite the good he did in his associations for the instruction of the Indian slaves in Boston (taken from their homes in the West Indies by Puritan slaveholders in collusion with Mather); of Mather's work "for the uplifting of the sailors in Boston," and finally, "the work" of the great Pharisee "for the cause of temperance in Boston town."

But all this was made nil by Mather's own intemperance in speech and writings and his intolerance in larger projects for the greater good of the communities. Through all his works, he shows

an arrant credulity, an egomania, and a manifest inhumanity which completely hid any good that lurked in his overburdened brain. He was the Pecksniff of Puritanism—a Puritanism which, today, is gasping for existence.

SOME MAYFLOWER CONVERTS

BY SCANNELL O'NEILL

If the Mayflower orators are to be believed, most of the great and enduring things accomplished since 1620 have been due to New England men and to New England ideals. But as every stock thinks well of itself, it is only natural that New Englanders should brag about the glories of the past since their present is not exactly what one would designate as roseate. The old race having ceased to increase and multiply, hardier stocks have grown up to take their place. The "Anglo-Saxon" of New England is now thoroughly Celticized. The Irish and the French-Canadians possess the land of the Puritans. But even though we cannot lift our voices in the extravagant chorus of Pilgrim laudation we can admit that they possessed many sterling natural virtues. Indeed, it was the possession of these very virtues which in so many instances enabled the Puritans to correspond to grace and to find their way into the Church of all wayfaring pilgrims here below.

In setting down here for a perpetual memorial the names of certain converts of Pilgrim stock, we do not claim to have exhausted the subject. Many readers, probably, can add greatly to our list; but so far as it goes we feel certain it will prove interesting if not arresting. Before proceeding further, let us remind readers that in referring to the Pilgrims, we must not, as do so many, confuse them with the Bay Colonists who arrived with Winthrop in 1630. The Pilgrims, the extreme wing of the Puritan party, came over in 1620.

ELDER WILLIAM BREWSTER.—The greatest name among the Pilgrims is, of course, Elder William Brewster, the patriarch of the little band that braved the dangers of the sea to find a sanctuary on this side of the water. Among his Catholic descendants have been:

Miss Annie Hampton Brewster, of Philadelphia and Rome. Born in Philadelphia in 1818; died in Rome along in the nineties. Daughter of Francis E. Brewster and Maria Hampton. Author of novels. Sister of Benjamin Harris Brewster (1816-1888), Attorney-General of the United States in President Arthur's Cabinet. Miss Brewster was the owner of Elder Brewster's Bible.

Annie Seabury Brewster, Countess Henri de Frankenstein, of

Rome, Italy. Descended in the eighth generation from Elder Brewster and John Alden. Daughter of William Cullen Brewster (1830-1900) and Georgiana Williams. Granddaughter of William Brewster (1787-1860) and Harriet Hamlin, and of Judge Joseph Williams (a descendant of Roger Williams) and of his wife, Mary Roget Meason. Great-granddaughter of Seabury Brewster (1754-1847) and Sally Bradford, a descendant of Governor William Bradford. Great-great-granddaughter of Wrestling Brewster (1724-1810) and Deborah Seabury, daughter of Deacon Samuel Seabury and of the latter's wife, Sarah Wiswall, a descendant of John Alden.

Brigadier-General Andre Walker Brewster, U. S. A. (Major-General during World War). Born in New Jersey, 1862. Graduated at Army War College, 1907. Entered army in 1885.

Mrs. Anna Morgan (Starr) Newton. Born at New London, Conn., 1831. Wife of General John Newton (1823-1895), U. S. A., who also became a Catholic. Daughter of Jonathan Starr (1781—), one of the founders and first Trustees of Trinity College, Hartford, and of his wife, Catharine Lumiere Sythoff. Great-granddaughter of Jonathan Starr and Mary Seabury, daughter of Deacon Samuel Seabury and Elizabeth Alden, and granddaughter of John Alden and Priscilla Mullens. This last Jonathan Starr was the great-grandson of Lucretia Brewster, the latter the daughter of Elder Brewster.

Mrs. Mary Campbell (Schofield) Andrews. Descended in ninth generation from Elder William Brewster, and in the eighth from Love Brewster. Born at Governors Island, New York, 1865. Wife of General Avery De Lano Andrews, Adjutant-General of the State of New York and Chief of staff to Governor Theodore Roosevelt. Daughter of Major-General John McAllister Schofield (1831-1908), United States Army, and of his wife, Harriet Bartlett (1833-1888), the latter also a convert. Great-granddaughter of John McAllister (1782-1870) and Sarah Brewster (1788-1851), daughter of Captain Elisha Brewster (1745-1798), a descendant in the sixth generation from Elder Brewster. Mrs. Andrews is the sister of Captain Richmond McAllister Schofield, U. S. A., also a Catholic.

Very Rev. George Deshon (1823-1903). One of the founders and Superior-General of the Congregation of St. Paul the Apostle.

Son of John Deshon and Fanny Robertson, grandson of Daniel Deshon and Ruth Christopher.

Mrs. Charlotte Elizabeth (Miller) Field. Born at Homer, New York, 1847. Wife of William Hildreth Field (1843-1900). Daughter of Edward Miller (1815-1855) and Emily Wilhelmina Shedd. A descendant in the eleventh generation through her great-grandmother, Olive (Brewster) Shedd.

Mrs. Cynthia (Cowles) Richards. Wife of Dr. Henry Livingston Richards (1814-1903), eminent convert clergyman, philanthropist and publicist, and the mother of the Rev. Joseph Havens Cowles Richards, Priest of the Society of Jesus. Granddaughter of Colonel James Kilbourne (1770-1850), Episcopalian clergyman and Ohio pioneer, through whom Mrs. Richards was descended from Elder Brewster.

Mrs. Marie (Gwynne) Glockner Crotti, Columbus, Ohio. Daughter of Baldwin Gwynne and Louise Jones. Great-granddaughter of Colonel James Kilbourne (1770-1850), and Cynthia (Goodale) Barnes. Descended in eleventh generation from Elder Brewster.

JOHN ALDEN.—A veritable romance of conversion is that of the Aldens of Claremont, New Hampshire. When shortly after his ordination to the priesthood in 1822, the convert Episcopalian clergyman, Father Virgil Horace Barber, S. J., returned to minister in the town of his birth, the first man to make friendly overtures to him was Colonel Joseph Alden, who not only made a donation to the building fund of the new edifice, but assisted in the erection of the wall surrounding the church property. His wife, Lucy Alden, naturally resented this courtesy extended to a priest of Rome, and the old man turned upon her and made the prediction that if she did not watch herself carefully she and all the family would become Catholics. Shortly afterward Father Barber called at the Alden home, and so great an impression was made upon Mrs. Alden by one whom hitherto she had been taught to regard as an emissary of Satan, that she began to inquire into the Catholic religion with the result that she and her children were baptized. Lucy Warner Alden was born in 1772, and died in 1849. She was the daughter of Colonel Seth Warner (1743-1784), second in command at Ticonderoga and the captor of Crown Point, to whose memory the State of Connecticut erected a

granite obelisk, and whom Bancroft praises so enthusiastically for his sterling worth and patriotism.

Colonel Joseph Alden (1779-1847) was the son of James Alden and Hannah, daughter of Henry Kingman, and the great-great-grandson of John Alden of the Mayflower. The following children and other relatives of Colonel Joseph Alden and Lucy Warner are enrolled among American converts:

James Franklin Alden. Born at Claremont, New Hampshire, 1815; died 1899. Son of Colonel Joseph Alden and Lucy Warner. He was an altar boy with the late Archbishop Williams of Boston, and for some time was an inmate of the home of that great prelate's mother. But with other members of his family he fell away from the practice of his religion, married a non-Catholic, who reared his children Protestants, and for many years lived estranged from the Faith, when, by a miracle of grace following the death of a beloved daughter, he returned to the practice of his religion and had the happy consolation of kneeling beside his wife, Mary Frances (Proctor) Alden, when she was received into the Church. Two of their daughters, Mary and Blanche, were sent to Manhattanville to school, where they both became Catholics, and later joined the Religious of the Sacred Heart. Madame Mary Alden (1840-1908) was a valiant woman, who rendered great services to the Church and souls until called to her reward. Madame Blanche Alden, her sister, is in this jubilee year of the Mayflower, still at her post in her convent in New York.

Mrs. Caroline Frances (Alden) Roberts Cobb, Claremont, New Hampshire, and Wilmington, Ill. Born at Claremont, New Hampshire, 1806. Daughter of Colonel Joseph Alden and Lucy Warner. As a young lady she tried her vocation with the Ursulines at Mount St. Benedict, Charlestown, Massachusetts (the convent burned by fanatics), but returned to the world and married Norman Roberts of Belfast, Maine, by whom she was the mother of Henry Norman Roberts, a devout Catholic of Wilmington, Ill. As a widow she married David N. Cobb.

Mrs. Emily (Alden) Crosby, Bangor, Maine. Wife of James Crosby. Mother of Lawrence Alden Crosby and Priscilla Alden (Crosby) Woodcock, both of whom were Catholics and reared their families in the Faith. Mrs. Crosby was the daughter of Hiram Crosby and Adelaide Cozzens, and the granddaughter of

Colonel Joseph Alden (1779-1847) and Lucy Warner, of Claremont.

Among other convert descendants of John Alden we may mention: Mrs. Rosamond (Spooners) Winslow Ransom (1751-1829), St. Albans, Vermont, wife of Richard Ransom (1740-1811), whom she married as widow of Ezra Winslow (1751-1798), daughter of Thomas Spooner (1718-1767), New London, Conn., and of his wife, Rebecca Paddack, daughter of Judah Paddack and Alice Alden, the latter the daughter of John Alden and Mercy Southworth, and the granddaughter of John Alden and Priscilla Mullens.

Mrs. Marion Adele (Longfellow) Morris O'Donoghue, Washington, D. C., and Boston, wife of M. F. O'Donoghue, author and journalist. Daughter of Stephen Longfellow and Marianne Preble. Niece of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, the poet. Granddaughter of Stephen Longfellow (1775-1849), and Zilpha Wadsworth, daughter of General Peleg Wadsworth (1748-1829) of the Continental Army, and of William Pitt Preble (1783-1857), Judge of the Supreme Court of Maine, United States Minister to the Netherlands, etc. Descended in eighth generation from John Alden, also from Robert Bartlett and Mary Warren.

Judge Elisha Williams McKinstry (1821—), of the Supreme Court of California. Son of Colonel Charles McKinstry (1778-1856), and Nancy Whiting Backus, the latter a descendant of John Alden, of Governor Bradford, and of still other Pilgrims. Judge McKinstry's wife, Annie Livingston Hedges, and his children, including Brigadier-General Charles Hedges McKinstry, United States Engineers, and Miss Frances McKinstry, a Carmelite nun, also entered the Church.

Madam Ruth Burnett, of the Religious of the Sacred Heart, daughter of Joseph Burnett (1820-1895), Boston, and Josephine Cutter, granddaughter of Charles Burnett and Keziah Pond, and of Edward Cutter and Ruth Torrey and directly descended from John Alden. Madam Burnett's father built and presented to the Episcopalians St. Mark's Church and St. Mark's School, Southborough, Mass. Her brother, Edward, married Mabel, daughter of James Russell Lowell. It was for Madam Burnett that Mrs. Grover Cleveland named her daughter Ruth.

Mrs. Harriet Champion (Trumbull) Stickney (1843-1915).

Wife of Austin Stickney, professor of Latin and Greek in Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., and mother of Joseph Trumbull Stickney, instructor in Greek at Harvard, and the author of "Poems of Trumbull Stickney," published in 1905. Daughter of Henry Champion Trumbull, granddaughter of the last Governor Trumbull of Connecticut, and descendant of John Alden.

Mrs. Ada Belle (Valentine) Waters, New York City, wife of Walter Nathan Waters, the musician.

Mrs. Catherine McEwen Douglass (Spooner) Wilbur, born in 1835, daughter of Joshua Wilbur, Lockport, N. Y., also a convert. Daughter of Colonel Alden Spooner (1783-1848), founder of the *Long Island Star*, the first newspaper in Brooklyn, N. Y., and of his wife, Mary Ann (Wetmore) Spooner (1794-1877), convert, author. Through her father she was directly descended from John Alden. Walt Whitman was an apprentice in her father's printing shop.

Rev. Sidney Sykes Hurlbut, born at Racine, Wisconsin, 1858; died at Baltimore, Maryland, 1920; priest of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, son of Henry Higgins Hurlbut (1813-1890) and Harriet Elizabeth (Sykes) Graves. Through his grandmother, Harriett Partridge (Pratt) Sykes, he was a lineal descendant of John Alden.

Charles Carroll Copeland, Libertyville, Ill., the philanthropist, is descended from a sister of John Alden, as well as from Bay Colony stock.

GOVERNOR WILLIAM BRADFORD.—Princess Anne Lante della Rovere (Anne Russell Allen), of St. Louis, Mo., and Rome. Daughter of Bradford Allen (1813-1897). Great-great-granddaughter of Rev. Thomas Allen (1743-1810), the "fighting parson of Bennington," whose wife, Elizabeth Lee, was the great-granddaughter of Rev. William Adams and Alice Bradford, the latter a granddaughter of Governor Bradford.

Mrs. Seraphim Masi, Washington, D. C., died 1884, daughter of Captain Bradford, Alexandria, Va. Mother of Mrs. Dallas, wife of Colonel Andrew Jackson Dallas, United States Army.

Colonel William Henry Carroll (1842-1915), Memphis, Tenn.; son of General William Henry Carroll, C. S. A., also a convert; grandson of General William Carroll (1788-1844), Governor of Tennessee, and of his wife, Cecelia Bradford. The latter Carroll

was a member of a strayed branch of the illustrious Catholic Carrolls of Maryland.

Miss Phoebe Ripley, Boston, died at Georgetown, D. C., 1888; in religion Sister Jane Frances, of the Sisters of the Visitation; daughter of Rev. Samuel Ripley and Sarah Bradford, Concord, Massachusetts, cousin of Ralph Waldo Emerson and of Dr. George Ripley, literateur and founder of Brook Farm.

MILES STANDISH.—Mrs. Elizabeth Burnet (Groesbeck) Digby, born at Cincinnati; wife of Captain Kenelm Everard Digby, Wirthing, England, daughter of Hon. William Slocum Groesbeck (1815-1897) and Elizabeth Burnet, daughter of Judge Jacob Burnet (1770-1853). Mrs. Digby's paternal grandmother was a member of the Colonial family which produced Rev. John Jay Slocum (1803-1860), who in 1836 was responsible for the publishing of *The Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk* and of the sequel to that infamous book, *The Confirmation of Maria Monk's Disclosures*, published in 1851. She was a direct descendant of Miles Standish.

PEREGRINE WHITE.—Miss Georgina Pell Curtis, Chicago, author, born at New York City, 1859, daughter of Alfred Leonard Curtis and Maria Elizabeth Hill, descendant of Peregrine White, who was born on the Mayflower.

Mrs. Ellen (Cowles) Pomeroy, died 1884, daughter of Edwin Cowles (1825-1890), the vitriolic Know Nothing editor of the Cleveland (Ohio) *Leader*, whose persecution of his daughter, following her conversion, hastened her death; granddaughter of Dr. Edwin W. Cowles (1794-1861) and Almira Foote.

PETER BROWNE.—Mrs. Emma Westcott Bullock, died at Bristol, R. I., 1916, wife of Jonathan Russell Bullock (1815-1899), Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island, and Lieutenant-Governor; daughter of Stephen Tillinghast Westcott and Mary Smith Barker. Descended in eighth generation from Peter Browne.

FRANCIS COOKE.—Miss Frances Dages, teacher in the Columbus, Ohio, public schools; tenth in descent from Francis Cooke, the Pilgrim.

JOHN HOWLAND.—Miss Anna Elizabeth Smith (1821-1894), Washington, D. C., daughter of Rear-Admiral Joseph Smith (1790-1877), United States Navy, and of his wife, Harriet Bryant; great-granddaughter of Nathaniel Bryant (1738-1772) and

Hannah Barker (1742-1802), daughter of Samuel Barker and Patience Howland, and fifth in descent from John Howland, the Pilgrim.

JOHN HURD.—Frank Hunt Hurd. Born at Mount Vernon, Ohio, 1841; died at Toledo, Ohio, 1896; graduated at Kenyon College, 1854; lawyer, member of Congress, son of Judge Rollin C. Hurd and Mary Norton, the latter also a convert; grandson of Asahel Hurd, a descendant of John Hurd, of the Mayflower.

THOMAS TINCKER.—Mary Agnes Tincker. Born at Ellsworth, Maine, 1833; died at Boston, 1907; daughter of Richard Tincker and Mehitabel Jellison; descendant of Thomas Tincker, of the Mayflower, and of Benjamin Jellison, early settler in Maine. For many years a resident of Rome and a member of the famous "Arcadia." Author of novels and verse.

STEPHEN HOPKINS.—William Stetson Merrill, born at Newton, Mass., 1866; graduated at Harvard University, 1888; assistant librarian, Harvard Library, 1884-1888; assistant librarian of the Newberry Library, Chicago. Through his mother he is descended from Stephen Hopkins of Plymouth.

GOVERNOR EDWARD WINSLOW.—Benjamin Berry, founder of the Great China Tea Co., Baltimore; son of Elisha Berry and Louisa Berry of the Continental Army, and Mary Winslow, descendant of Governor Edward Winslow.

DEACON CHAPIN.—Princess Margaret Bassanio. Daughter of Lindley Hoffman Chapin, New York City; wife of Don Raffredo Caetani, Prince of Bassanio, and son of the Duke of Sermoneta.

RICHARD WARREN.—Captain Algernon Sartoris, U. S. A., son of Algernon Sartoris and Nellie Grant; grandson of General U. S. Grant and Julia Dent. Ninth in descent from Richard Warren. Received into the Church in 1904. His sister, Mrs. Rosemary Alice Sartoris Woolston (1880-1914), wife of George H. Woolston, Hempstead, Long Island, New York, also became a Catholic in 1912.

Ransom Burritt Fuller (1842-1917), Brookline, Massachusetts; son of Dr. Jared Fuller and Harriet Hinman; received with his wife, Louise S. White Fuller, and his daughter, Miss Mabel Louise Fuller, now Mrs. Edward Everett Blodgett; descended in ninth generation from Richard Warren.

DEACON SAMUEL FULLER.—Miss Alida Fuller (1843-1903). In religion Mother Mary Lucretia, Superior of the Sisterhood of

the Holy Cross, Notre Dame, Indiana; daughter of Judge Ezbon Gillette Fuller (1810-1892), Coldwater, Michigan; granddaughter of Captain Milton Fuller of the War of 1812; directly descended from Deacon Samuel Fuller.

MARY CHILTON.—Rev. William Leete Longinus Hayward, priest of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia; convert Episcopalian minister; son of Rev. William Stone Hayward and Martha Jane Avery; descended through his father from Mary Chilton and from Governor William Leete, of Connecticut.

WILLIAM SHURTLEFF.—Captain Nathaniel Bradstreet Shurtleff (1834-1863), U. S. V., graduated at Harvard, 1859; tried his vocation with the Jesuits; lawyer; son of Dr. Nathaniel Bradstreet Shurtleff (1810-1874), Mayor of Boston, and of his wife, Eliza Smith; grandson of Dr. Benjamin Shurtleff and Sally Shaw and of Hiram Smith. Seventh in descent from William Shurtleff and also descended from ten other Mayflower Pilgrims. Captain Shurtleff's sister also became a Catholic.

GOVERNOR JOHN CARVER.—James Hoyt Miller, New York City; graduated at Yale, 1894; stock broker.

HEZEKIAH BROWN.—Rev. Bonaventure Brown, of the Passionists.

Following are the names of converts of Mayflower stock whose particular Pilgrim ancestor it is impossible to determine:

Count Reginald Henshaw Ward, son of Andrew Henshaw Ward and Anna Harriet Wolcott Field. Hereditary Member of the Society of Mayflower Descendants.

Dr. Frederick Joseph Kinsman, late Anglican Bishop of Delaware.

Mrs. Edith Dudley Byldenburgh Douglass, North Charlestown, New Hampshire. Descended from two Mayflower Pilgrims and from Rt. Rev. Samuel Seabury, the first Anglican Bishop of the United States. Her husband, Moses Hale Douglass, who was formerly an Anglican clergyman, also became a Catholic.

Harriet Brewer Churchill, Boston and London, daughter of Asaph Churchill and Mary Brewer.

Caroline Elizabeth Fairfield (Williams) Corbin, Chicago. Wife of Calvin R. Corbin, Chicago. Daughter of Jason Williams and Hannah Dana Chandler, and a descendant of two Pilgrims.

Finally, the late Mrs. Alice Morton Rutherford, New York

City, wife of Winthrop Rutherford, and daughter of Levi P. Morton, Vice-President of the United States, was descended from George Morton, financial agent in London of the Pilgrims. The late William Callyhan Robinson (1834-1911), eminent jurist and convert clergyman, and his brother, John Adams Robinson (1837-1904), were both descended from Rev. John Robinson, the Leyden pastor of the Puritans.

FATHER ANDREW WHITE, S.J., AND THE INDIANS

BY THE REV. RICHARD H. TIERNEY, S.J.

Andrew White, Apostle of Maryland, was a remarkable man. A scholar of the highest type, he was yet so simple and unassuming that for many years of his life no trace of his name or fame is found in any biographical record worthy of credence. Born in London about the year 1579, he was obliged to go abroad to obtain the education suitable to his talents and aspirations. For England in those days, and in previous times, too, was a sorry place for Catholics. Merry by tradition, the land was yet gloomy to the extreme, by reason of the persecution carried on against Catholics. True, the reign of Charles I was not as that of Elizabeth. The hurdle had practically fallen into disuse and the consuming fire was no longer lighted to destroy victims who dared profess Catholicism. Nevertheless conditions bore heavily on all those whose conscience was not as the King's. The reign of Charles I was mild relatively only. Charles was not as savage as the Virgin Queen; however, he was tyrannical enough to make England an impossible place for Catholics. This is abundantly clear from trustworthy records. Thus Challoner, for instance, writes: "From the year 1628 till 1649, I find no more blood shed for religious matters, though as to other penalties they were frequently inflicted upon priests and other Catholics. In one year alone there were twenty-six priests seized and committed to that one prison called the 'clink,' to speak nothing of those who were confined elsewhere."

The statutes of the day imposed a fine of twenty pounds on popish recusants for every month's absence from a Protestant church; no public office was open to Catholics; they were forbidden to keep arms; they were not allowed to seek justice in the courts; they might not travel five miles from home without a special license, and this under forfeiture of all their goods; and, worst of all, Catholic parents might not educate their children in their own religion, under fine of ten pounds, if instruction were given at home, and of one hundred pounds, and denial of the right of inheritance and the right to purchase or enjoy any lands, goods or profits, if education were given abroad. These were the conditions which met young White at the threshold of life. But as life was more than meat to him, he crossed the channel to Cardinal Allen's famous

school at Douay. After some years of intensive study he came forth a Captain of Christ, a scholar and a priest ready to do and die for the Master. Very soon after his ordination, probably in 1604, he was back in England, a traitor according to British law, for it was high treason for a subject to return a priest from overseas and not conform within three days to the Anglican Church by law established.

Priest-hunting was a rare sport in those days, and the bag was often large. The hounds of iniquitous laws harried the country, north, south, east and west, and brought in all priests who for one reason or another were not as nimble as the rabbit to seek a safe hole in the wall or ground. In 1606 the quarry was exceptionally large and valuable. It numbered forty-seven, and White was one of the group. He did not lose his head, however, but "suffered perpetual exile," which he was none too scrupulous in observing. His sentence did not daunt his spirit; he was determined to carry on, despite kings and potentates.

In 1607, at the age of twenty-eight, he entered the Jesuit novitiate at Louvain and two years later pronounced the usual simple vows.¹ His early career must have been distinguished beyond the normal standard, for Oliver, no mean or indulgent critic, declares that he was possessed "of transcendent talents." So, to a university chair he went. At various times he was dean and lecturer in theology, scripture and Hebrew in St. Alban's Seminary at Valladolid and in St. Hermenegild's at Seville. He appears to have led this humdrum academic life for ten years, till 1619. Then he began all over again and lived more of such a life at Liege first and then at Louvain, with great applause, however, for his talents were high and his learning deep. After this White disappeared from the historian's view and remained safe from the critical pen until he was bidden accompany Baltimore's expedition, a command that apparently aroused his adventurous spirit, for in the language of the *Collectanea S. J.*, "like a giant he exulted in his course." To sea, then, he went with many another like himself, fearless God-loving men who preferred peace and liberty in a new land to misery and bondage at home.

It was on November 22, 1633, the feast of St. Cecilia, that the Ark and the Dove weighed anchor at Cowes in the Isle of Wight.

¹Cf. Hughes, *The History of the Society of Jesus in North America*. Text, Vol. I, p. 160.

The start was merry enough, not so the voyage. The ships were parted in a storm and the cranky Dove was thought lost. Fortunately this fear was vain, and in due time the two vessels sailed up the Chesapeake Bay and into the Potomac River to a land which charmed White, for in his *Relatio Itineris*,¹ a most valuable and illuminating historical document, too little known, he writes: "Along the Potomac, the exiles found mighty forests stretching as far as the eye could reach; a soil rich and fertile; the air balmy, although it was now the month of March: and they returned thanks to God for the beautiful land which He had given them, for this was Maryland." The convoy sailed up the Chesapeake from (Old) Point Comfort, February 29, and for a while stood off over against the mouth of the Potomac. This must have been on or about St. Gregory's Day, March 12, for the voyagers called the river St. Gregory, and named the point to the south, now Smith's Point, Cape St. Gregory, while that to the north, the present Point Look-out, was called Cape St. Michael, "in honor of all the angels of Maryland." Of this, Father White writes in his *Relatio*: "The Point which is at the south, we consecrated under the title of St. Gregory; designating the northern Point, we consecrated it to St. Michael, in honor of all the angels. A larger or more beautiful river I have never seen. The Thames, compared with it, can scarcely be considered a rivulet. It is not rendered impure by marshes, but on each bank of solid earth rise beautiful groves of trees, not choked up with an undergrowth of brambles and bushes, but as if laid out by the hand, in a manner so open, that you might freely drive a four-horse chariot in the midst of the trees. At the very mouth of the river we beheld the natives armed. That night fires were kindled through the whole region, and since so large a ship had never been seen by them, messengers were sent everywhere to announce 'that a canoe as large as an island had brought as many men as there were trees in the forests.'"

As yet the pilgrims had not left the ship for a permanent dwelling. They did so March 25, 1634, Lady Day, at St. Clement's Island, a name now lost to beautiful Maryland. Father White thus describes the incident: "On the festival of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the year 1634, we offered on this island, for the first time, the Sacrifice of the Mass; in this region of the

¹Cf. *Woodstock Letters*, Vol. I, p. 22 Sq. *Id.*, Vol. I, p. 12.

world it had never been celebrated before. The Sacrifice being ended, having taken up on our shoulders the great cross which we had hewn from a tree, and going in procession to the place that had been designated, the Governor, Commissioners and other Catholics participating in the ceremony, we erected it as a trophy to Christ the Saviour; while the Litany of the Holy Cross was chanted humbly on our bended knees, with great emotion of soul."¹

Such the simple yet sublime consecration of the soil of Maryland to God! But after all, despite Father White's statement, this was not the first time that God's pleasure was called down on Maryland by the Holy Sacrifice. In 1570, sixty years previously, another band of Jesuits had landed on the shores of the Chesapeake and sanctified the place by Mass, as they did in a far less exalted way, of course, by their blood. Far down in Florida Father Segura and seven companions had heard of the teeming tribes of Indians in and about Maryland. Some Spanish merchants had brought a captured Indian to Florida, where he was instructed in the Faith and baptized. Father Segura seemingly won his confidence and coaxed him to guide the little company of eight priests to the place where the tribes were sitting in darkness and the shadow of death. The wily Indian promised help, but when the band landed on the shores of the Chesapeake, he led the missionaries far into the forest and then left them to the horrors of hunger. Later he returned with an armed party of savages who slew the priests before the rustic altar on which they had daily offered the saving Sacrifice."²

White knew nothing of this, but even had he been conversant with the awful fate of his predecessors, he would have been nothing daunted, but rather would have been inspired with new courage. For blood shed for Christ is as grace to men of kindred spirit.

The Indians, too, had been committed to White's care and he would bring them to the Master at all costs. Indeed, they seemed to have had first place in his heart, for he devotes whole pages of the *Relatio* to minute and enthusiastic descriptions of them. In one place he pays them this tribute: " . . . When the Governor had understood that many sachems are subject to the chieftain of Piscataway, he resolved to visit him, that the cause of our coming being explained, and this one's good will being conciliated, a more

¹*Relatio Itineris ut supra.*

²Hughes *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 317.

easy access might be gained to the minds of the others. Therefore, having added to our pinnace another which he had bought in Virginia, and having left the ship anchored at St. Clement's, retracing his course, he landed at the south side of the river. And when he had found out that the savages had fled into the interior, he proceeded to a village which is also called Potomac, a name derived from the river. Here was the young king's guardian, named Archihu; he was his uncle and administered the government in place of the youth—a grave man and prudent.

"To Father John Altham, who had come as companion of the Governor (for he left me with the baggage), he willingly gave ear while explaining, through an interpreter, certain things concerning the errors of the heathens, and now and then acknowledged his own; and when informed that we had not come thither for the purpose of war, but for the sake of benevolence, that we might imbue a rude race with the precepts of civilization, and open the way to heaven, as well as impart to them the comforts of distant regions, he signified that we had come acceptably. The interpreter was one of the Protestants of Virginia. Therefore, when the Father could not discuss matters further for want of time, he promised that he would return before long. 'This is agreeable to my mind,' said Archihu, 'we will use one table; my attendants shall go hunt for you, and all things shall be common between us.' From this we went to Piscataway, at which place all flew to arms. About five hundred men, equipped with bows, stood on the shore with their chieftain. Signs of peace being given them, the chief laying aside his apprehensions, came on board the pinnace, and when he heard that our intentions were friendly, he gave us permission to settle in whatever part of his country we might wish.

"In the meantime, while the Governor was on his visit to the chieftain, the savages at St. Clement's having grown more bold, mingled familiarly with our guards, for we kept guard night and day, to protect our wood-cutters from sudden attacks, as well as the brigantine brought by us and which we were constructing of planks and beams. It was amusing to hear them admiring everything. Above all, where in the world did so large a tree grow, from which so immense a mass of ship could be hewn? for they thought that it was hollowed from the trunk of a single tree, after the manner of an Indian dug-out. Our cannon struck them all with con-

sternation, as they were much more resonant than their twanging bows, and loud as thunder.

"The Governor in his visit to the chieftain had taken as companion Captain Henry Fleet, a resident of Virginia, a man very much beloved by the savages, and acquainted with their language and settlements. At the first he was very friendly to us; afterwards, seduced by the evil counsels of a certain Claiborne, he became most hostile and stirred up the minds of the natives against us with all the art of which he was master. In the meantime, however, while he remained as a friend among us, he pointed out to the Governor a place for a settlement, such that Europe cannot show a better for agreeableness of situation.

"From St. Clement's having proceeded about nine leagues towards the north, we entered the mouth of a river, to which we gave the name of St. George.

"This river, in a course from south to north, runs about twenty miles before it is freed from its salt taste—not unlike the Thames. Two bays appeared at its mouth, capable of containing three hundred ships of the largest class. One of the bays we consecrated to St. George; the other bay, more inland, to the Blessed Virgin Mary. The left bank of the river was the residence of King Yoacomico. We landed on the right, and having advanced about a thousand paces from the shore, we gave the name of St. Mary's to the intended city; and that we might avoid all appearance of injury and hostility, having paid in exchange axes, hatchets, hoes, and some yards of cloth, we bought from the King thirty miles of his territory, which part goes by the name of Augusta Carolina.

"The Susquehannoes (sic), a tribe accustomed to wars, and particularly troublesome to King Yoacomico, in frequent incursions, devastate all his lands, and compel the inhabitants, through fear of danger, to seek other habitations. This is the reason why we so readily obtained a part of his kingdom; by these means, God is opening the way for his law and for light eternal, since every day some of them move away and leave to us their houses, lands, and fallow-fields. Truly this is like a miracle, that savage men, a few days before arrayed in arms against us, so readily trust themselves like lambs to us, and surrender to us themselves and their property. The finger of God is in this; and God designs some great good to his people. Some few have granted to them the privilege

of remaining with us till the next year. But then the ground is to be given up to us, unencumbered.

"The natives are of tall and comely stature, of a skin by nature somewhat tawny, which they make more hideous by daubing, for the most part, with red paint mixed with oil, to keep away mosquitoes; in this, more intent on their comfort than their beauty. They smear their faces also with other colors; from the nose upwards, sea-green; downwards, reddish, or the contrary, in a manner truly disgusting and terrific. And since they are without beard almost to the end of life, they make the representation of beard with paint, lines of various colors being drawn from the tip of the lips to the ears. They encourage the growth of the hair, which is generally black, and bind it with a fillet when brought round in a knot to the left ear, something which is held in estimation by them being added by way of ornaments. Some bear upon their forehead the representation of a fish in copper. They encircle their necks with glass beads strung upon a thread, after the manner of chains; these beads, however, begin to be more common with them, and less useful for traffic.

"They are generally dressed in deerskin, or like kind of covering, which flows behind after the manner of a cloak, and are girded about the middle with an apron; in other respects they are naked. Young girls and boys runs about without any covering whatever. The soles of their feet being as hard as horn, they tread upon thorns and thistles without injury. Their weapons are bows, and arrows two cubits long, pointed with buck-horn or a piece of white, sharpened flintstone; they direct these with so much skill that from a distance they can shoot a sparrow through the middle. And in order to practise themselves for skill, they throw up a thong on high, and transfix it with an arrow impelled from a bow-string, before it falls to the ground. As they do not use a well-strung bow, they cannot hit a distant mark. By means of these arms they live, and daily through the fields and woods they hunt squirrels, partridges, turkeys and wild beasts. For of all these there is great plenty, though we, ourselves, do not venture as yet to provide food by hunting, through fear of falling into an ambuscade.

"They live in huts of an oblong, oval form, built nine or ten feet high. Into these huts light is admitted from above, by a window, a cubit in extent; it serves also for removing the smoke; for they kindle a fire in the middle of the floor and sleep around the

fire. The kings, however, and principal men have, as it were, their private apartments and bed, four posts being driven into the ground, and poles placed upon them to receive the bed. One of these huts has been allotted to me and my companions, in which we are accommodated sufficiently well for the time being, until more commodious dwellings shall be built. This house might be called the first chapel of Maryland, although not much better finished than when occupied by the Indians. The next voyage, if God prosper our undertaking, we shall not be destitute of the things which are found necessary in other houses.

"The tribe has an ingenuous and cheerful disposition, and can understand a matter fairly well when it is explained. In acuteness of taste and smell they excel Europeans, and they surpass them also in sharpness of sight. They live mostly on a pap which they call pone or hominy. Each of these is made of corn, and they sometimes add a fish or a beast or bird which they have taken in hunting. They keep themselves as much as possible from wine and warm drinks, nor are they easily induced to taste them, except those whom the English have infected with their vices. So far as pertains to chastity, I confess that I have not yet observed in man or woman any action which might savor even of levity, notwithstanding they are with us and among us daily, and are glad to enjoy our society.

"They come of their own accord, with a cheerful countenance, and offer whatever they have taken in hunting or fishing; they bring victuals also at times, and oysters boiled or roasted, having been invited to do this by the few words of their vernacular tongue which we have hitherto learned by signs as well as we could. Notwithstanding they keep many wives, they preserve conjugal faith inviolate. The countenances of the women are grave and modest. Upon the whole, they cultivate generous minds; whatever kindness you may confer, they repay. They determine nothing rashly, or when actuated by a sudden impulse of mind, but with reflection, so that when anything of moment, is, at any time, proposed, they are for a time silent in a thoughtful manner; then they answer briefly, Yes or No, and are very firm of their purpose. If these people be once imbued with Christian principles (and I see nothing to hinder it, except a want of acquaintance with the language spoken in these regions) they will assuredly become worthy promoters of virtue and humanity. They are possessed with a wonderful desire of civilization and of the dress of Europeans, and they would

have long since used their clothing had not the avarice of the traders prevented it, who do not exchange cloth except for beaver. But everyone cannot hunt beaver. Far from us be their avarice, that we should imitate it.

"Ignorance of their language renders it still doubtful for me to state what views they entertain concerning religion; for we have not much confidence in Protestant interpreters. These few things we have hurriedly learned. They recognize one God of heaven, whom they call 'Our God'; nevertheless, they pay him no external worship, but by every means in their power, they endeavor to appease a certain evil spirit they call 'Ochre,' that he may not hurt them. They worship corn and fire, as I am informed, as gods wonderfully beneficent to the human race. Some of our men relate that they have seen the following ceremony in a temple at Barcluxem:

"On an appointed day there assembled from many parts of the country around a great fire, all the men and women of all ages. Next to the fire stood the young people; behind them those more advanced in life. A piece of deer's fat being then thrown into the fire, and hands and voices being uplifted to heaven, they cried out 'Taho! Taho!' A space being cleared, some one produces a very large bag; in the bag are a pipe and some powder which they call *potu*. The pipe is such as our countrymen use for smoking tobacco, but much larger. Then the bag is carried around the fire, the boys and girls following, and in a pretty, agreeable voice singing alternately, 'Taho! Taho!' The circle being completed, the pipe is taken from the pouch with the powder. The *potu* is distributed to each of the bystanders; and every one smoking this when it is lit in the pipe, puffs the smoke over all his limbs and consecrates them. I have not been able to learn more except that they appear to have some knowledge of a flood by which the world perished, because of the sins of mankind."¹

A year later, in 1635, when the colony was yet in swaddling clothes a far less Christian account of the Aborigines was printed in the *Relation of Maryland*,² supposedly an official declaration, for it was given out in Lord Baltimore's name.² It speaks of the Indians in this strange and harsh manner: "Some accounts say that the people are warlike, and have done much harm to the English.

¹*Relatio Itineris ut supra.*

²Hughes, *op. cit.*, pp. 326, 327.

Others say that they are a base and cowardly people, and to be despised. And it is thought by some who would be esteemed statesmen, that the only point of policy that the English can use is to destroy the Indians, or to drive them out of the country, without which it is not to be hoped that they (the English) can be secure. The truth is, if they (the Indians) be injured, they may well be feared, they being a people that have able bodies, and generally taller and bigger-limbed than the English, and want not courage. But the odds we have of them in our weapons keeps them in awe; otherwise they would not fly from the English, as they have done in time of wars with those of Virginia; and out of that respect a small number of our men being armed will adventure upon a great troop of theirs; and for no other reason (not because the English are better soldiers, but merely because they have muskets); for they (the Indians) are resolute and subtle enough. But from hence that there can be no safety to live with them is very great error. Experience hath taught us that, by kind and fair usage, the natives are not only become peaceable but also friendly, and have upon all occasions performed as many friendly offices to the English in Maryland and New England as any neighbor or friend uses to do in the most civil parts of Christendom. Therefore, any wise man will hold it a far more just and reasonable way to treat the people of the country well, thereby to induce them to civility, and to teach them the use of husbandry and mechanical trades whereof they are capable, which may in time be very useful to the English; and the planters to keep themselves strong and united in towns at least for a competent number; and then no man can reasonably doubt either surprise or any other ill-dealing from them."

Apparently, Father White paid little heed to opinions about the Indians, for he immediately committed himself to the evangelization of them, undaunted by rumor or threat. True, he knew little of any Indian language and for awhile was obliged to depend on an interpreter from Virginia. But language is not an obstacle to zeal, and in a short time the missionary had learned the singularly numerous and varied dialects prevalent in those regions, all save one, the Patuxent, with which he struggled with small measure of success. This is a rather strange phenomenon, for he learned the other tongues so well that he wrote them with ease and fluency.

Like a good strategist White began his work amongst the Patuxents, a most powerful tribe governed by a chief whose in-

fluence extended to all the other Maryland tribes. In the choice of this tribe the missionary seems to have been moved by a motive of gratitude too, for the "Annual Letter" of 1639 says: "He had bestowed much time and labor on the conversion of the Patuxent king, a result eagerly looked forward to by all, as well out of gratitude for his beneficence (since, as already observed, he had given a farm to the Society), as on account of his reputation for prudence and the extensive authority he was said to exercise over the barbarians." The work ran smoothly for awhile and the missionary was able to record baptisms at regular intervals. Suddenly, however, for some unknown reason, the chief became hostile and Calvert, fearing danger to Father White, ordered him to return to St. Mary's. But this interruption of missionary endeavor did not last long for, in 1639, Father Brock, alias Morgan, was residing amongst the Patuxents on land ceded by the kind Macaquomen.

Father White was not discouraged by his first partial failure; in 1642, he turned his attention to a more favorable tribe, the Piscataway, on whose hunting ground now stands the beautiful city of Washington. The zealous priest took up his abode with the Tayac, or Emperor, whom he cured of a grave disease after the medicine men had given him over to death. Ere long Father White had gained complete ascendancy over the emperor. This influential barbarian became as docile as a child, learned his catechism, observed the precepts of the Church very exactly and, in 1639, asked for Baptism, during a sojourn at St. Mary's. The ceremony was put off one year, till Whitsuntide, 1640. The "Annual Letter" of that year has this to say of the great event: "On the 5th of July, 1640, having been sufficiently instructed in the mysteries of faith, he received the Sacramental waters with solemnity in a little chapel, which for that ceremony and for divine worship he had erected Indian fashion out of the bark of trees. At the same time, his wife with her infant and one of the chiefs of his councilors with a little son were regenerated at the font of baptism. The Emperor, who was called Chitomachon (Kittamaquund) before, was now christened by the name of Charles; his wife by that of Mary. The others too, with the Christian faith, received Christian names. The Governor (Leonard Calvert) was present at the function, in company with the secretary (Lewger); nor was anything wanting that our means could supply to enhance the magnificence of the occasion. In the afternoon, the (same) king and queen were united in

matrimony according to the Christian rite. Then was erected a holy cross of no trifling proportions. To carry it to the spot chosen, the King, the Governor, the secretary, and the rest lent their hands and their shoulders; two of us meanwhile chanting the Litany of the Blessed Virgin."¹

The Tayac did not long survive his conversion and was succeeded in office by his young daughter, Mary, who was baptized at St. Mary's where she had lived for some time. It was in connection with this child, that the famous Margaret Brent, the first Suffragist of our country, gained much of her early fame. She became the guardian of the little Indian girl and soon, on behalf of her ward, made demands upon Leonard Calvert, the Governor, which were very promptly honored by Calvert's lawyers. The care of the child could not have been in better hands than those of Margaret Brent who fought her way at every turn against people of all classes and ranks. As executrix and attorney to Leonard Calvert, she demanded a voice in the House of Assembly, adding that she should have the vote on her own account too. Refused this privilege she "protested against all proceedings in the present Assembly unless she may be present and have vote as aforesaid." The Empress of the Piscataway to whom Father White had brought the Gospel, apparently found life with the Brents far more pleasant than life with her subjects and as a consequence resigned office. It were better so, for the child had no right to the dignity and, besides would probably have lost her life in one of the many raids of the Susquehannah who had begun to infest the missionary station at Piscataway, where they slew and raided at will, unmolested by nearby white folk who could have helped the unfortunate victims. Under the circumstances it seemed best to the missionaries to establish another center of endeavor. So, in 1642, they chose a place variously called Portoback, Portobacco, Potupaco, now known as Port Tobacco, the site of the first settlement in the United States of English speaking Carmelite nuns.

Father White made part of the journey to this place on the ship of a New Englander whom he suspected of evil designs on his life and goods. The ice in the river dispelled the missionary's fears by sinking the ship at a place called Potomac town. This disaster delayed White's journey, nine weeks, a period of intense activity

¹Hughes, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 344, 345.

on his part. During that time he converted four chiefs and so many men of nearby tribes that scores of Indians offered themselves for instruction and asked that a priest be sent them.

All this region was Father White's field of labor and for ten harrowing years, he cultivated it with an assiduity that is little short of marvelous. To him is due in large, if not in full, measure the fact that the tribes along the Potomac were won to the Church. Often his work was thwarted or ruined by the malice or stupidity of civic officials. The officers of State sometimes framed their decrees on the supposition that the crime of one Indian was the crime of any Indian or of all Indians, a fact that often goaded the barbarians to intense anger against all white men, missionaries included. A sample of this grotesque legislation is found in a Virginia court record, wherein is written the resolution: "Whereas Arthur Price hath complained to this Board that he hath lately had stolen from him, by an Indian, one gun, one pair of breeches, and one shirt, the Court hath ordered that said Arthur Price shall have power to detain in his custody the next Indian who shall come to his house, and confess himself acquainted with said Indian who stole said breeches, gun, and shirt, until they be brought back by the Indian who stole the same." And unfortunately Maryland grew to this mode of thought and action, for in 1641 Leonard Calvert issued a proclamation forbidding the colonists to harbor or entertain Indians. This were bad enough, but it is humiliating to think that he affixed these words to the official document: "And I doe hereby authorise and declare it lawfull to any inhabitant whatsoever of the isle of Kent to shoot, wound, or kill any Indian whatsoever coming upon the said island, until further order be given herein Given at St. Maries, 10 July 1641."¹

Under such circumstances the way of Father White and his companions was far from easy, but the heroic man trod it without flinching. Up and down the country he went preaching Christ, now to one tribe, now to another. He seldom traveled alone, but nearly always in company with one companion, sometimes with two companions, one of whom acted as interpreter, if, perchance, the missionary's tongue faltered in the Indian language.

The "Annual Letters," contain descriptions of the outfit of these modern apostles. A small basket held provisions of bread,

¹Hughes, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 349.

cheese and some dried ears of corn, for roasting. Water, which Father White often praised highly, was their drink. There were two chests also, one for vestments and sacred vessels, another for presents with which to win the attention of the Indians. As a rule the travelers slept in the open, unmindful of the elements. Little did Father White care about hardship; his passion was for souls, not comfort. Undoubtedly he would have converted all the Maryland tribes, had not his enemies encompassed the ruin of his mission.

Father White's days amongst the Indians were done, his foes were upon him. In 1645, the rule of the Proprietary in Maryland was overthrown by the Virginian adventurer, Claiborne. Father White was seized, put into chains and sent to England, only to be banished thence, after confinement in prison. In vain did he seek permission to return to Maryland. Oliver relates that "thirsting for the salvation of his dear Marylanders he sought for opportunity to return to that mission, but all his efforts proving ineffectual he was content to devote his remaining energies to the advantage of his native land." Nothing daunted, then, he made his way back to England, where disregarding the penalty of death incurred by every priest who appeared in the country after banishment, he labored for a period of about ten years. It is quite impossible to trace his activity during this time for he flitted from place to place under an assumed name, ministering to the scattered and harassed flock of Christ. All too soon, the thread of his life was cut. On December 27, 1656, the feast of St. John the Evangelist, he was stricken with a mortal illness and as the sun set on the festival of the great disciple of love, he passed to his reward, in London, crowned by scholarship and sanctity.

That his worth was fully appreciated by his brethren is evidenced from this eulogy, appended to the notice of his death which is found in the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum, S. J.*: "He was a man as remarkable for the holiness of his life as for his learning. He was so abstemious that frequently he lived on nothing but bread and water; and even this scanty refreshment he took towards evening only. He was so genuinely humble that he actually looked for occasions of demeaning himself. He patiently bore his bodily infirmities, and although suffering from a very painful disease, was never heard to complain, but as far as possible acted like a man in perfect health. In this one thing alone might he be called an ac-

complished dissembler. Finally, his every action seemed to breathe a certain holiness, and men of the highest standing did not hesitate to affirm that if ever they had seen a saint in this world, it was undoubtedly Father Andrew White."

THE NEW YORK STATE INDIANS

BY ELIZABETH MORAN FINIGAN

We, the descendants of the older civilization, scarce pause to review the history of the first people who occupied the territory now included within the boundaries of New York State. I refer, of course, to the Indians. Let us not say with the poetess, Lydia Sigourney, that

"They all have passed away
That noble race and brave"

for there are living today on the reservations of New York State the same number, five thousand approximately, as were here when Columbus and his train reached our remote shores.

Seven of these reservations are located as follows: the Onondaga, comprising 6,100 acres, is less than six miles south of Syracuse. Four—Alleghany, Cattaraugus, Tuscarora and Tonawanda—are in the western part of the State. The Alleghany Reservation, situated wholly in the County of Cattaraugus, is one mile in width, with its boundary line located one half mile on either side of the Alleghany River, following the bends and curves of its waters for nearly forty miles and comprises 30,469 acres. This is one of the most picturesque of the reservations, although it is difficult to select the most beautiful as the Indians have been exceedingly fortunate in the choices made for their home sites. There are on this stretch of forty miles but five bridges and it was necessary in places to use row boats to visit some homes.

The Cattaraugus Reservation is located in parts of three counties, Erie, Cattaraugus and Chautauqua, and has 21,680 acres, with a wealth of scenery comparable only to that of Watkins and Au Sable, with the grandeur of heights and the beauty of depths surprising and entrancing the visitor.

The Tuscarora Reservation covers 6,249 acres and is in Niagara County. The Tonawanda Reservation consisting of less than 7,550 acres is south west of Batavia and also extends into parts of three counties, Erie, Genesee and Niagara. The St. Regis, our northerly one, is on the border of the St. Lawrence River, in the counties of Franklin and St. Lawrence. Two other very small

reservations on Long Island, near Southampton, are the Shinnecock and the Poospatuck, both in Suffolk County.

After a year and a half spent among the Indians, studying their customs and mode of living, their training and retarded progress, their difficulties and their hardships, one cannot too strongly accentuate their need for better provision for medical care and the enlargement of the scope of their educational system. For, in truth, they have latent powers for higher development as exemplified by some shining examples.

The Indians are an interesting—yes, fascinating—people, and to labor for them one must make a study of their history, their glory of race, their legends and traditions and possess thereby as full an understanding as possible of their character, aims and interests. These insights, with a genuine sympathy for them, do not bring one as a stranger to their doors.

Their myths as to origin are no more absurd than are those of other races, so when we read David Cusick's account of the origin of the Iroquois we may with profit reread our old Roman and Grecian mythologies. This will aid us to forbear with theirs. Out of the haze and obscurity of these Cusick tales we may well start with the knowledge that this Iroquois League was composed of a very powerful race, one that excelled all other Indian tribes, the Aztecs of New Mexico and the Incas of Peru excepted. "Their influence was greater and they achieved higher civil organization than any other race of Indians," Lewis H. Morgan, acknowledged and authoritative student of ethnology, tells us. He further affirms that when the Dutch explorers came in 1609 the Iroquois race were here on the same lands lying between the Genesee and Hudson rivers and were conquered. This was not true of all the other Indians nations occupying the New England district but the Iroquois retained their territory until the opening of the nineteenth century. One very consoling fact I noted when looking up some old treaties and briefs in the Court of Appeals' Library, in the case of Ogden and Lee, was the statement that "the State of New York never deprived the Indian of one foot of land without his voluntary consent." This statement does not apply to the white colonist who, for his own gain, individually exploited the Indian.

The Iroquois League of the Five Nations, organized for self-government and to safeguard their lives and land holdings became the League of the Six Nations in 1724 when the Tuscaroras were

received into the League but their status in the Council body was not that of equal suffrage but, as Dr. Beauchamp likens it to, "that of our territories in our national legislative body." The Tuscaroras had been driven out of their North Carolina territory in 1715 and came to our Senecas, claiming kinship with them. Very gracious must have been the hospitality extended by the Senecas as they granted the Tuscaroras lands for a home site, practically the same as those upon which they still reside.

The Indian signification of the names of these six Nations is interesting: Onondagas, "People of the Hills"; Senecas, "Great Hill People"; Mohawks, "People Possessors of the Flint"; Oneidas, "Granite People"; Cayugas, "People of the Mucky Road"; Tuscaroras, "Shirt-Wearing People," thereby bespeaking for them an early interest in garments and fashions. The Onondagas were the official keepers of the wampum and council fire and were in the center of the "Long House," a term commonly used in reference to the League. The Mohawks lived "at the eastern door," on the banks of the Hudson, to keep "watch toward the rising sun," while the Senecas faced the warriors of the Ohio Valley, keeping guard "at the western door."

Wampum, revered by the Indians, is the official document. Made of strips of deer skin upon which variegated colored shells are strung or woven, the black shells symbolize war; the white, peace; the red, joy; the purple, dignity or royalty. These shells and their arrangement on the deer skin enabled the Indians to record important transactions, terms of peace treaties, speeches and events; and we need to recall that the twenty-six letters of our alphabet have served us the same purpose, in many tongues. No messenger sent from one tribe of Indians to another would be recognized without his wampum belt showing his authority.

All the official wampum owned by the New York State Indians is in the custody of the University of the State of New York since 1898. It is well worth while, should you be in Albany, to go to the Education Building and see the wampum, the potteries, bead work, garments and other relics which reveal the skill of our Indians. There are here six most instructive Indian groups, life sized wax Indian figures from the best Indian types now living.

The Indians on some of the reservations are governed by a council body of chiefs and have their council houses and councillors. The Indian women elect their chiefs and are, therefore, our first

women suffragists. Are we, then, going backward or forward? The chiefs elected by them, however, select their Chief of Chiefs or Grand Sachem.

Children inherit tribal rights and land holdings through the mother. For example; a child born of an Onondaga mother and a Seneca father becomes an Onondagan and inherits Onondaga land.

One hesitates to designate the Indian by the terms used by themselves, Pagan and Christian Indian. There is among them all so much of reverence and faith in their immortality. One pretty custom will illustrate this. When the Indian plants his corn he dedicates a portion to the Great Spirit, another to the orphan, another to the stranger or guest and the remaining to the members of his own household.

It is most unusual to find an Indian household without children—they adopt them when they have none and not infrequently do the older couples take a grandchild or orphan to raise after their own children have established homes for themselves. Children and aged persons are invariably well treated by the Indian.

After the harvest last fall it was a novel sight to see the Indians braiding corn into long and thick strands, from three to five feet in length, and suspending it from the porches and beams of their houses. In some of the homes the woolen mill, a block or stump of a tree three or four feet high, scooped out bowl like, reveals that the primitive mode of grinding corn is still in force among some of them. There are on each reservation the same extremes of very good to very poor Indian houses to be found. The William Mountain Pleasant stone house, built in 1845, on the Tuscarora Reservation is a single monument to early advancement and is still occupied by his descendants. Mrs. Mountain Pleasant was a sister of General Ely S. Parker of General Grant's staff. This home has four fire places, an excellent cellar and spacious rooms, nine or ten in number.

The proportion of houses built with cellars does not equal fifteen per cent. Possibly thirty-five homes on the seven reservations could be classified as modern, well drained and sanitarily cared for. The great majority have two or three rooms and all are frame structures. Very few one-room log cabins are left, except off from the main highways back over the trails. Occasionally may be found in these one large room homes a bed in each of the four corners, a cook stove in the center and families composed

of from four to eight and even more persons. Amid such surroundings the writer vividly recalls seeing the very ill, the dying and even the dead where four adult members lived, ate and slept for three days awaiting the burial of a young woman.

There are no funds for road building, street lighting, water, sewer systems or police departments. These luxuries are, of course, unknown. Springs are everywhere to be seen. Without police surveillance would our white populations of a thousand people live as free from usurping the rights of one another as do our Indians? The State police are seldom called upon to look up an erring Indian brother.

Unfortunately there is no compulsory education law on the reservations and in consequence the attendance at all the schools is poor. On all the reservations the State of New York has established and maintains schools. These State schools were antedated by many years by those of the Quakers and other philanthropists.

The great impression made on the Indians by the early Jesuit missionaries is too well known to require more than passing reference. Their one hundred and twenty-seven volumes of "Relations" found in all large libraries contain records of inestimable value for every student of Indian affairs. The history of the St. Regis Reservation is, however, inseparably linked with their activities. It was the French Jesuit missionary, Father Jogues, who, coming down through the wilds of Canada and passing along the Lake Saint Sacrament, later rechristened Lake George, by the English after George II, visited the Mohawks converting and baptizing large numbers of them. This enraged the other Iroquois tribe who descended upon these Indian converts, massacred Father Jogues and his companion René Coupil and the young Indian maiden, Katherine (Kateri) Tekagwitha, surnamed the "Lily of the Mohawks" on the site of the first mission in New York State bearing date of 1642. The Auriesville shrine keeps alive the memory of these heroic souls. The remaining members of that tenacious band of converts were driven northward out of their territory. The French government offered these Christian refugees a haven seven miles west of the present site of Montreal, called Caughnawauga, and here they lived until 1760. In that year another French Missionary, Father Gordon, S. J., united the two bands of Mohawks, the last mentioned and another residing on Ogdensburg's present location and established their homes on the present St. Regis site.

It is deeply inspiring to study the four faultlessly written leather bound volumes compiled by the missionary, Father Gordon, S.J. Not an erasure, blot nor correction is seen. The first volume is a parish register opened in 1762 and the first entries are in Latin. After a few pages they are in Indian. All the St. Regis Indians here find the records of their families unbrokenly kept from this date. Two of the volumes are a hand compiled French-Indian and Indian-French dictionary, the other an Indian grammar. The fourth is a treatise on Christian doctrine in the Indian language. A curio hunter recently visiting that remote rectory sought to purchase the two volumes, grammar and dictionary, for two thousand dollars. The *Curé* who devotes himself with an emulated zeal to the same work would not consider any price for them. He has labored twenty-seven years among these Indians, coming to them upon ordination "for a short time" as he supposed. With much pride he told me "There is not an unmarried Indian couple living on this reservation." This bespeaks volumes for the depths of the impression left by the Jesuits.

On the Alleghany Reservation less than a tenth of the total acreage was under cultivation. On the Cattaraugus less than a fifth; the Tonawanda about one-third; more than two-thirds was tilled last year on the Tuscarora while seven-eighths of the St. Regis was planted and yielded harvest.

On the St. Regis there is an excellent boarding school provided by funds from Mother Katherine Drexel of Philadelphia. It is taught by the Sisters of Mercy and here fifty-two Indian girls are fed, clothed and taught home making. They are a benediction to the families to which they return after having been trained and carried through eighth grade work.

On the Alleghany Reservation are the Quakers, a term not as acceptable to them as "Friends." A very fragrant memory is that of my visit there. For more than a century they have befriended and taught the Indians. This school was opened by them in 1816 and provides care and training for about fifty children. Four hundred acres with a very large dairy owned by the Friends since 1789 adjoin the reservation lands at Tunessassa. Their pupils are selected from all the reservations. I found the children much impressed with the kindness, patience and efforts of their teachers.

The Friends have devoted themselves to this work at the entire expense of their own community. They befriended the Senecas

during their difficulties over treaties with the Ogden Land Company, now claimed by some to be virtually the Bank of England. It is largely due to the Friends' championship by financial and moral support that a compromise treaty was obtained in 1842 and that they were not driven off their lands and out of our State.

The Thomas Indian School on the Cattaraugus Reservation is excellent and provides care, board and instruction for two hundred pupils at an annual expense to New York of \$81,860. The Indian children are exceptionally docile, retiring and easily governed by the teacher, so let us not refer to our misbehaving white children as "Little Indians."

As an outcome of these surveys better medical care is being provided the Indian and nurses were assigned to each reserve on July 1, 1920. The Indian runs the whole gamut of diseases—many cases have been provided treatment and care in hospitals, and institutions that the survey brought to light.

While the Methodists, Presbyterians and Episcopalians have provided churches and chapels on every reservation our Catholic altars and baptismal waters are sadly lacking. Not one Catholic missionary traverses the Indian fields of New York State, save on the St. Regis Reservation which is attended by the Canadian *curé*, referred to above, and who resides on the Canadian shores of the reservation.

Some of the terms of the old treaties are unique and provide for the annual distribution of six yards of sheeting and six yards of white and red checked gingham to each Indian, out of which curtains, quilts, tablecloths and dresses are often made. On the Onondaga Reservation one-half peck of salt is distributed annually to each Indian after he or she becomes sixteen years of age. The Jesuits taught the utility of the salt wells to the Indians. This is a very important event—the attaining of the age to share in the salt allotment.

The great strides the Indian has made from savagery, into outward conformity at least, to civilized ways of living in less than a century and a half lend hope he will attain the white man's standards. Lewis H. Morgan may well serve as a guide when he says "It is useless to transplant the Indian across two or three ethnic periods. We cannot expect him, even with our guidance and assistance to travel in one generation what it has taken our own race hundreds of years to accomplish." Mr. Morgan pleads for

time and patience on our part in dealing with the Indian. He says: "The needful, indispensable solvents of the Indian problem are time and patience on our part and theirs."

The veneer of civilization as indicated by the universal discard by the Indian of the old raiment with the feathers for the white man's style of clothing, and the adoption of the white man's style of architecture for his home, does not signify that the Indian is yet prepared for the responsibilities of citizenship and qualified to protect his own rights. There is a grave responsibility resting on those who are enjoying the wealth of the Indians' broad acres to provide suitable and adequate facilities for their better education and all that that includes to qualify them to become American citizens.

THE CATHOLIC CONTRIBUTION TO LIBERTY IN THE UNITED STATES

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Civil authorities in the United States of America called for a celebration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth, December 21, 1620. Public speakers, on this occasion, rightly commended the good sense of these colonists in drawing up the Mayflower Compact at their arrival off Cape Cod a month before, by which they "solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic."¹ It was but natural for colonists thus to provide for law and order, and the rudest pioneers, that pushed the boundaries of the country westward from the Atlantic even to the Pacific Coast, found it advisable and necessary to do the same, without any thought of this precedent. After an honorable mention of the Pilgrim Fathers, public speakers usually passed at once to a glorification of the Puritans who settled Massachusetts Bay Colony ten years later and soon proved themselves the controlling factors in New England. Alongside of them the Pilgrim Fathers almost fade into insignificance.²

The Puritans were a race of stalwart men, earnest and persevering in purpose, who had suffered persecution in England for conscience's sake. This is the simple truth, but that is as far as we can go in accepting the eulogy of the panegyrists. When they tell us that the Puritans were the founders of American liberty, civil and religious, truthful history shows that these men came to America to seek religious liberty for themselves, but they insisted that all others should stay away from them. Thus Roger Williams, to mention but one case by name, in the depth of winter, was driven out of the colony into Rhode Island, where Catholics were also disfranchised in its Revised Statutes of 1745, if not in 1663.³ The Puritan theocracy was Congregational in its Church polity, and so Presbyterians were forced to migrate into New Netherlands, where the Presbyterian Church of the Dutch Re-

formed was the established Church of the Colony to the exclusion of all other worship, public and private, Lutheran, Jew, Quaker, or anything else.⁴

The Quaker Colony of Pennsylvania was founded by William Penn as a holy experiment "to lay the foundation of a free colony for all mankind, more especially those of my own profession."⁵ The Frame of Government and the Great Law or Body of Laws (1682) required that officials, members of the Provincial Council and General Assembly, and their electors "shall be such as profess faith in Jesus Christ," and guaranteed to all peaceable believers in God that they "shall in no ways be molested or prejudiced for their religious profession or practice in matters of faith and worship; nor shall they be compelled at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or ministry whatever."⁶ Nevertheless, eleven years later, William and Mary, king and queen of England, sent orders to Pennsylvania that the oaths used in England under the Toleration Act (1689) should also be exacted in the Colony. The English Government repeatedly renewed these orders, and in 1705 colonial legislation legalized all religious tests for the holding of office and for naturalization demanded by Queen Anne. This act remained in force until the American Revolution.⁷

These test oaths comprised the oaths of royal supremacy and allegiance as well as the Declaration or Attestation Oath. The oath of royal supremacy went back to the monstrous king, Henry VIII, who had Parliament enact "that the king our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England."⁸ This was done to put the sovereign of England in the place of the Pope for his own subjects even in matters of spiritual jurisdiction. The oath of allegiance took its rise with James I, the great champion of the divine right of kings, to whom the medieval deposing power of the Pope—which was then outworn, though it had proved at times a safeguard for liberty, both religious and civil—was the most detestable doctrine on the face of the earth. James I, therefore, exacted an oath from his subjects, not only acknowledging him as "lawful and rightful king," but also abhorring, detesting, and abjuring "as impious and heretical this damnable doctrine and position," to which the king hypocritically gave a very odious form.⁹ The Declaration or Attestation Oath was passed in 1673 under Charles

II precisely as a test oath. All office-holders had to make a short declaration under oath to the effect "that there is not any transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper or in the elements of bread and wine, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever." In 1678 a further clause was added to the test, declaring that "the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other Saint, and the sacrifice of the Mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous."¹⁰ Under William and Mary, the old oaths of supremacy and allegiance were cut down to a line or two and joined with the oath of fidelity to both the reigning sovereigns, but the Declaration or Attestation Oath was maintained in all its fullness, with an express acknowledgment of the Trinity and of the divine inspiration of the Scriptures. Consequently, not only Catholics, but also Jews and Unitarians, were excluded from naturalization and the holding of office in colonial Pennsylvania. A Catholic certainly could not take these tests without renouncing his Faith, although the oath was modified into a Declaration for the sake of the Quakers.¹¹

The same oaths were naturally enforced in the Colonies with Church of England establishments such as Virginia and the Carolinas.¹² This was also done in Georgia when its Charter was revoked, and the Church of England established, but even before this its Charter (1732) gave the free exercise of religion to all persons "except Papists."¹³ Catholics were thus the general victims of persecution, except for a short time, in their own colony of Maryland.

Catholics founded Maryland with the broadest religious freedom for all.¹⁴ When they saw the storm gathering that was to wreck their great work of religious liberty, an Act of Toleration was put on the Statute Book in 1649, guaranteeing religious freedom at least to all believers in Jesus Christ.¹⁵ When the government was turned over to Protestants, the Puritan soon obtained control of the Colony. "With the first taste of power," says the Protestant historian Cobb, "he set himself to plot against his benefactor and against the religionists who had given him a home and liberty. He played the part of the viper, stinging the bosom that had warmed him, and made the most disgraceful chapter in the history of Puritanism and religious liberty."¹⁶

After this review of the religious history of the English Colo-

nies, it cannot be surprising that the religious liberty extended to Canadian Catholics by the Quebec Act (June, 1774) caused a great outburst of hostility to Catholicism throughout the American Colonies. The Continental Congress considered the Act as "in an extreme degree dangerous" and declared it to contain "infringements and violation of the rights of the colonies." These were not merely of a civil or political nature, as is evident from the Address issued by Congress to the people of Great Britain, September, 1774: "We think that the legislature of Great Britain is not authorized by the Constitution to establish a religion fraught with sanguinary and impious tenets, and to erect an arbitrary form of government in any quarter of the globe . . . By this the Dominion of Canada is so extended, modeled, and governed as that, being disunited from us, detached from our interests by civil as well as religious prejudices, that by their numbers daily swelling with Catholic emigrants from Europe, they might become formidable to us, and on occasion be fit instruments in the hands of power to reduce the ancient free Protestant colonies to the same state of slavery with themselves."¹⁷ Thus, anti-Catholic bigotry found a place amongst the grievances urged by the inhabitants of the Colonies against Great Britain. This was but natural, if popular feeling was voiced in the sentiments expressed by Samuel Adams (1768), the great revolutionary agitator: "Much more is to be dreaded from the growth of Popery than from Stamp Acts or any other acts destructive of men's civil rights."¹⁸

Nevertheless, on the revolt of the Colonies, the Continental Congress resolved (February 15, 1776) "that a committee of three be appointed to repair to Canada" to induce Canadians to join the American cause. Efforts were made to disarm Catholic suspicions aroused by the previous anti-Catholic propaganda of the English Colonies by appointing a Catholic, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, to the committee, together with Benjamin Franklin and Samuel Chase, and by joining to them Father John Carroll, the future first American Bishop.¹⁹ The attempt proved to be a failure. Mr. C. H. Van Tyne showed correct historical insight in the conclusion of his article on the Clergy and the American Revolution, when he wrote of the effect of the great wave of anti-Catholic bigotry that swept over the country on the eve of his diplomatic mission to Canada: "It does not matter that Con-

gress, . . . when it saw the advantage of allying Canada with the American Union, 'perceived the fate of the Catholic and Protestant to be strongly linked together,' for the earlier sentiments were the real, and the later the feigned ones."²⁰ Bishop Briand of Quebec knew the facts. He had been invited by Cardinal Castelli to go on a confirmation tour through the English Colonies, but Father Farmer (April 22, 1773) sent a warning from Philadelphia to Canada, deprecating any attempt to do this, as the advent of a Catholic Bishop would lead to riots and cause the Catholics of the English Colonies to lose what little privilege they enjoyed here and there, and that only in the two colonies of Pennsylvania and Maryland, where Catholics managed to worship privately in a few places without any legal prerogative to do so. Father Farmer intimated in the concrete what might be expected as the result of a Catholic Bishop's visit to the English colonies: Father Dietrich had been almost killed in a place about one hundred miles from Philadelphia during a heated dispute with non-Catholics; when his house, which was also his chapel, was twice shot into, he found it advisable to escape to the missions of Maryland.²¹ Under the circumstances, there is no wonder that Bishop Briand of Quebec cast his lot with England, and so anti-Catholic bigotry lost Canada to the United States.

It is this dark background of colonial history that brings out in bold relief the Catholic contribution to liberty in the United States of America, of which some details are given in the following sketch.

The charter of American liberty is the Declaration of Independence, adopted in Congress, July 4, 1776; its first fruit, after the triumph of the Revolution, is the Constitution of the United States, which went into operation March 4, 1789. Had Catholics anything to do with the Declaration of Independence? The man who risked most in signing it was a Catholic. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the richest man in America on the eve of the Revolution, whose wealth was estimated at \$2,000,000, pledged his life and fortune to the cause of American liberty by his signature. What was his motive? He himself revealed it later in writing to Washington's adopted son, George Washington Parke Custis (February 20, 1829): "When I signed the Declaration of Independence from England, I had in view not only our independence from England, but the toleration of all sects professing the Chris-

tian religion and communicating to them all great rights.”²² On the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, this last surviving signer, in the eighty-ninth year of his life, thus addressed his countrymen (August 2, 1826): “I do hereby recommend to the present and future generations the principles of that important document as the best earthly inheritance their ancestors could bequeath to them, and pray that the civil and religious liberties they have secured to my country may be perpetuated to the remotest posterity and extended to the whole family of men.”²³

The preparation of the Declaration of Independence was entrusted by the congressional committee to Thomas Jefferson, who appealed to the laws of nature and nature’s God for the right of the American people to separate from England and to assume their separate and equal station among the powers of the earth.²⁴ Thomas Jefferson was not a Catholic, but the book in his library, now in the Library of Congress, that gives the best summary of the self-evident truths which justified the Revolution in the Declaration of Independence, takes them from Cardinal Bellarmine’s works. The citations are made by Sir Robert Filmer in his book, *Patriarcha, or the Natural Power of Kings*, written in defence of the divine right of kings, which doctrine Cardinal Bellarmine had denied in his controversy with King James I of England. The Cardinal maintained the natural liberty of mankind, with the people as the source of all secular or civil power according to the divine law and the laws of nature, and so he concluded: “It depends upon the Consent of the multitude to ordain over themselves a King Counsel or other Magistrates: and if there be lawful cause the multitude may change the Kingdom into an Aristocracy or Democracy.” Filmer acknowledges that in these passages of his opponent “are comprised the strength of all that I have read or heard produced for the natural liberty of the subject,” which, however, he detested as a tenet “first hatched in the schools . . . and fostered by all succeeding Papists for good Divinity.”²⁵ Jefferson’s Declaration, in the fundamental rights claimed for all men, is a close parallel to this summary of Bellarmine’s doctrine. Surely Catholics must be pleased to learn that the fundamental principles upon which the great American revolution and its resultant American liberty were based had their best support in the writings of the Jesuit Cardinal Bellarmine.

To make the Declaration of Independence a living reality,

Catholics, together with their non-Catholic countrymen, fought on land and sea against the might of England, whose efforts were directed to make the immortal document a dead letter. On the high seas, the American naval hero was John Barry, the Father of the American Navy, who is buried in the graveyard of St. Mary's Catholic church in Philadelphia.²⁶ On land, the American forces would have met the ignominy of final defeat, if it had not been for the help of Catholic France. Political expediency, that prompted France thus to humble England, does not alter the fact that this Catholic help was the decisive factor in winning the Revolutionary War.²⁷ What is important for the development of liberty is—that even bigoted Puritans welcomed the help derived from native and foreign Catholics—that the French Catholic soldiery, with their Catholic chaplains, made non-Catholic Americans, from the highest to the lowest, familiar with the ministration of priests in colonies even hitherto closed to them.²⁸ In the light of all this it is easy to see why the Father of our country, George Washington, replied as he did to the congratulations addressed to him by Catholics, when he was chosen by unanimous vote the First President of the United States of America. "Your fellow-citizens," he said, "will not forget the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of their Revolution, and the establishment of their Government, or the important assistance which they received from a nation in which the Roman Catholic Faith is professed."²⁹ The government of the United States gave proof of this, and its example was followed gradually by the individual States, though very slowly by some of them.³⁰ Catholics alone were excluded by religious tests, on the eve of the Revolution, from the holding of office and naturalization even in such otherwise liberal colonies as Pennsylvania and Rhode Island, not to speak of Maryland which began as a refuge for oppressed Christians under the Catholic Lord Baltimore, but had been perverted in the Puritan ascendancy into a land of oppression for its Catholic founders. The wrong was righted by the Constitution of the United States, Article VI, Section 3: "No religious tests shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States."³¹ This was a reward of merit to Catholics for services in the Revolution, but it did not guarantee Catholics against attack in the last century before the Civil War.

In "No Popery" times, the Native American Party, and the

Know Nothing Party tarred and feathered a priest,³² burned a convent,³³ inspected convents by State authority as if they were houses of shame,³⁴ wrecked and destroyed churches, murdered innocent men,³⁵ and finally attempted to disqualify Catholic citizens, because of their religion, from voting at the polls and from holding any office of honor, trust, or profit.³⁶ Although this last, if it was question of federal office, was a clear violation of the Constitution of the United States, the Know Nothing Party, which made this a plank in its political platform, polled over 147,000 votes in the November elections of 1855 in the State of New York.³⁷ The Know Nothing Legislature of this State then promptly passed a penal law to force Catholics to incorporate their churches according to a law that many non-Catholic denominations could not use, as it interfered with their discipline and constitution just as it interfered with the discipline and constitution of the Catholic Church.³⁸ These non-Catholic denominations procured special laws of incorporation, but Catholics were refused equal rights as long as anti-Catholic bigotry was in the ascendant.³⁹

The Civil War, like the Revolution, again showed the country the need of Catholic help to preserve the integrity of the Union with its American liberty, and so purged the country of this un-American, anti-Catholic bigotry. The flowers and the little flag, planted on the graves of the Veterans of the Civil War each Memorial Day, attest to what extent the call to patriotic duty was heeded by the Catholic citizens of the Union. To prevent England and France from intermeddling in our sad quarrel, President Abraham Lincoln and his Secretary of State, William Seward of Auburn, New York, sent John Hughes, the great Archbishop of New York. At the time of Archbishop Hughes' death, William H. Seward wrote, January 13, 1864, in the name of the President of the United States, to the Very Reverend William Starrs, Administrator of the Diocese of New York: "Having formed the Archbishop's acquaintance in the earliest days of our country's present troubles, his counsel and advice were gladly sought and continually received by the Government on those points which his position enabled him better than others to consider. At a conjuncture of deep interest to the country, the Archbishop, associated with others, went abroad and did the nation a service there, with all the loyalty, fidelity, and practical wisdom which, on so many other occasions, illustrated his great

ability for administration."⁴⁰ Under the circumstances, the penal law of the Know Nothings had to be repealed, and an incorporation law passed for Catholic Churches in keeping with their discipline and constitution.⁴¹ Thus equal rights with non-Catholics were, finally, conceded to Catholics. This was but a recognition of the spirit animating the First Article of the Amendments to the Constitution of the United States: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."⁴² Here again Catholics had been the chief sufferers in Colonial times, and so they were the ones principally benefited by this federal amendment, which also entered, in a form equally liberal, into the State Constitution, Article 1, Section 3: "The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination and preference, shall forever be allowed in this State to all mankind."⁴³

Nevertheless, Bishop McQuaid, William Purcell, and others had to teach the politicians of the State of New York that persons in penal and eleemosynary institutions of the State also belonged to mankind; that they, therefore, had a constitutional right to their own religious profession and worship, and were not to be limited, if they were Catholics, to an alleged non-sectarian religion, furnished by a non-Catholic chaplain.⁴⁴ The Freedom of Worship Bill, finally, recognized the rights of conscience and worship in all the fullness of religious liberty even for these unfortunate members of mankind, and again it was Catholic effort that was largely responsible for the recognition.⁴⁵ Here also anti-Catholic bigotry had been at the bottom of the trouble, and it was thus driven from position after position, with the result that a larger degree of liberty was attained in the body politic with each conquest.

When Bishop McQuaid went to Rochester in 1868, he found the Protestant religion firmly entrenched in the Public Schools, to which Catholic parents, therefore, could not, in conscience, send their children, though they were taxed for their support.⁴⁶ Bishop McQuaid's aim was not to de-Protestantize the Public Schools. He publicly agitated for an expansion of the Public School system so as to embrace also the parochial schools of any denominations that made the sacrifices necessary to found such schools.⁴⁷ If Protestants refused to yield to these just demands

of Catholics, Bishop McQuaid foretold that others in the community, who were not Catholics, would rise up and demand that all religion, the Bible, prayers, and hymns be prohibited; and so the Public School would be degraded into a school without God—a godless school—in itself also sectarian.⁴⁸ For such a school could only satisfy the demands of infidel parents and would violate the rights of believing parents, whose duty and right it was to have their children receive that amount of religious training, with their ordinary education, which conscience tells them is good, expedient, necessary.⁴⁹

Bishop McQuaid's prophecy was soon fulfilled after it was uttered. A Jewish Commissioner on the Board of Education, June 7, 1875, presented the following resolution at its regular meeting: "Resolved, That the custom of Bible reading and discussion, hymn singing, and praying in our Public Schools be from this date discontinued, and no sectarian exercises of any nature be allowed hereafter." The wording of the resolution failed to please some of the commissioners, and so it was finally presented in the simpler form: "Resolved, That all religious exercises of any nature be prohibited in our Public Schools." This was then adopted, after some opposition, by a vote of fourteen to two.⁵⁰ Superintendent Ellis, in his school report, September 6, 1875, explicitly denied that Catholics had anything to do with the matter,⁵¹ and Bishop McQuaid expressed his surprise when he learned of the action of the Board of Education, though he had foreseen it.⁵² He believed that the Christian people of the State "forsook their earlier system of religious education to keep us from its advantages and to hurt our Church; they have hurt themselves as Christians and honest men; they have emasculated education of all that gives it vitalizing power; they have helped to place the cankerworm of infidelity in the body politic through the children."⁵³ Thus, the allied forces of the infidel and the non-Catholic Christian succeeded in defeating just Catholic aspirations. Bigotry and prejudice are the only possible explanation of the unholy alliance that was bound ultimately to undermine the membership of Protestant Churches. They thus received the wages of their sin.

Some pretended that moral instruction without religion was enough for the child, but we believe what George Washington stated in his Farewell Address: "Let us with caution indulge in

the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in the exclusion of religious principle." Nevertheless, opponents of Catholic claims plotted till they succeeded in grafting upon a fairly healthy State Constitution at the time of its revision in 1894 Article IX, Section 4: "Neither the State nor any subdivision thereof shall use its property or credit or any public money, or authorize or permit either to be used directly or indirectly, in aid or maintenance other than for examination or inspection, of any school or institution of learning, wholly or in part under the control or direction of any religious denomination, or in which any denominational tenet or doctrine is taught."⁵⁴ How ill-advised this was has been shown recently in Rochester and New York City by the efforts that have been made to find ways and means to bring religious instruction into the life of the children attending the Public School. This is a practical recognition that the Catholic claim of religious training, together with secular education, is the sound and correct solution of the education problem in popular education.⁵⁵ A system of Public Schools and Separate Schools, with support from the taxes of the people, whose children go to these schools, as in Canada, would have been more in keeping with the real spirit of American liberty than the restricted education system of the Revised Constitution of 1894.⁵⁶

Fortunately, there is a real lack of consistent logic in this step-mother treatment of popular education and in the liberal provision for charity by the State of New York in this same Constitution. Article VIII, Section 14, reads: "Nothing in this Constitution contained shall prevent the Legislature from making such provision for the education and support of the blind, deaf and dumb, and juvenile delinquents, as to it may seem proper; or prevent any county, city, town, or village from providing for the care, support, maintenance, and secular education of inmates of orphan asylums, homes for dependent children or correctional institutions, whether under public or private control. Payments by counties, cities, towns and villages to charitable, eleemosynary, correctional, and reformatory institutions, wholly or partly under private control, for care, support, and maintenance, may be authorized, but shall not be required by the Legislature. No such pay-

ments shall be made for any inmate of such institutions who is not received and retained therein pursuant to rules established by the State Board of Charities. Such rules shall be subject to the control of the Legislature by general laws."⁵⁷ Know Nothing, A.P.A. powers of darkness disguised themselves under the fine names of American Patriotic League, National League for the Protection of American Institutions, etc., labored to restrict the liberality of the State in case of these institutions of philanthropy and charity as was done in case of the schools for popular education.⁵⁸ They were defeated by a combination of Jews, Catholics, and members of some other Christian denominations, interested in these forms of charity.⁵⁹ Despite the terms of the Constitution in this matter, James Sargent of Rochester fought in the Courts for three years to restrain the Rochester Board of Education from using public moneys in paying the salaries of the Catholic Sisters teaching the orphans in St. Patrick's and St. Mary's Asylums. Finally, January 29, 1904, Judge O'Brien of the Court of Appeals, Albany, the other judges concurring, handed down a decision that the payment of salaries was warranted by the State Constitution, Article VIII, Section 14. "The four teachers," he said, "were licensed by the public authorities to teach. To license them as qualified teachers and employ them and receive the benefit of their services, and to refuse to pay them upon the objection of some taxpayer, would be a species of injustice unworthy of a great State."⁶⁰

It is to be regretted that the same broad basis for real liberty was not provided in popular education, with even greater advantage to the Commonwealth. We can only pray that God open the eyes of all, finally, to see the light, and then the fullest measure of liberty shall be given to all, Jew and Gentile, Protestant and Catholic. In conclusion, we have reason to thank God that, throughout all this development of liberty in the United States, Catholics have never been in opposition to its restraint, not only as far as they themselves were concerned, but also in regard to all others, irrespective of creed, color or race. If Catholics had their way, their contribution to liberty in the United States would be even larger than it is. For, there were American Catholics big enough to risk failure in a cause where the greatest prize of mankind was at stake, civil and religious liberty.

NOTES.

¹Bradford *History of Plymouth Plantation*. Editor, W. T. Davis (Original Narratives of Early American History). Editor, J. F. Jameson, p. 107.

²Cf. Winthrop's *Journal*, 1630-1649, 2 vols. Editor, James Kendall Hosmer (Original Narratives, etc.)

³Miller, *Legal Qualifications for Office*. American Historical Association Reports, i, 101.

⁴Cf. F. J. Zwierlein, *Religion in New Netherland* (1910); also Idem, *New Netherland Intolerance in the American Catholic Historical Review*. Vol. iv. 186-216 (1918).

⁵William Penn to Roger Mompousson: *Penn and Logan Correspondence*, i. 373; Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*, ii. 343.

⁶*Pennsylvania Charter and Laws*, pp. 102, 109; Cobb, *The Rise of Religious Liberty in America*, pp. 442 sq.

⁷*Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, II, 68:89-96; Cobb, o. c. p. 445; Osgood, o. c. p. 345 sq.

⁸Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, p. 243 sq.

⁹Wilkins, *Concilia Mag. Brit.* iv. 425.

¹⁰Gee and Hardy, o. c. pp. 632-640.

¹¹Cf. Toleration Act (1689) in Gee and Hardy, o. c. pp. 654-664; all these oaths are in *Statutes of Realm*: 26 Henry VIII c. 1; 3 James I, c. 4; 25 Charles II, c. 2; 30 Charles II, ii I; William and Mary sess. 1, c. 8, sess. 2, c. 2. The combined oaths were exacted in colonial Pennsylvania in the test for naturalization and the holding of office in the case of all but Quakers. The Act of Toleration had modified this test into a Declaration for "certain other persons, dissenters from the Church of England who scruple the taking of any oath." This only meant the change of a few words, as is evident from the Declaration exacted in Pennsylvania under Queen Anne.

"We and each of us do for himself solemnly promise and declare that we will be true and faithful to Queen Anne of England, etc. And we do solemnly promise and declare that we from our heart abhor, detest and renounce as impious and heretical that damnable doctrine and position that Princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope or any other authority of the See of Rome may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other person whatsoever. And we do declare that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, hath or ought to have any power, jurisdiction, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within the realm of England, or the dominion thereunto belonging.

"And we and each of us do solemnly and sincerely profess and testify that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is no transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever, and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other Saint, and the sacrifice of the Mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous.

"And we and each of us for himself do solemnly profess, testify and declare that we do make this declaration in the plain and ordinary sense of the words read to us, as they are commonly understood by English Protestants, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever, and without any dispensation already granted for this purpose by the Pope or any other authority whatsoever; and without any hope of any such dispensation from any person or authority whatsoever, or without thinking that we are or can be acquitted before God or man or absolved of this Declaration or any part thereof, although the Pope should dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning.

"And we said subscribers, and each of us for himself, do solemnly and

sincerely profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ, His Eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, one God blessed for evermore. And we do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures to be given by Divine inspiration."

For others that were not Quakers the Test Declaration became the Test Oath. Thus, it was ordered at the Governor's Council 15th, 2 mo., 1704, in reply to a petition for naturalization, that "Nicholas Gateau, upon his taking the requisite oaths. (Viz:) fidelity to the Queen, the abjuration of the Pope's supremacy, & fidelity to the Proprietary, be naturalized, & an Instrument prepared for it according to Law." Pennsylvania Colonial Records xi. 104; *The American Catholic Historical Researches*, editor, Martin I. J. Griffin, xviii (1901), p. 131 sq.

"Cf. Virginia Test Oath (1698) in *Virginia Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, Oct. 1903; pp. 158, 160; *The Am. Cath. Hist. Researches*, xxviii (1911) p. 117. Before the Test Oath Virginia required the oaths of supremacy and allegiance from Lord Baltimore, etc., April 30, 1628. The Governor and Council of Virginia wrote the Privy Council, November 9, 1629: "According to the Instructions from your Lordships and the usual Course in this place we tendered the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance to his Lordship and some of his followers, who are making profession of the Romish Religion, utterly refused to take the same." *Virginia Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, Jan., 1909; the *Am. Cath. Hist. Researches*, xxvii (1910), p. 242 sq.

"Humphrey, *American Colonial Tracts*. Vol. i, No. 4; *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, p. 14; Cf. Also No. 5, p. 7.

"Cf. *Narratives of Early Maryland*, 1633-1684, editor, Clayton Colman Hall. (Original Narratives, etc.)

"W. T. Russell. *Maryland, the Land of Sanctuary*, Text of Act in Appendix K; also in *Narratives of Early Maryland*, pp. 269-273.

"Cobb. *The Rise of Religious Liberty in America*, p. 378, with reference to Scharf, *History of Maryland*, i, 200.

"*Am. Cath. Hist. Researches*, xxiv (1907). Sentiments of the Continental Congress expressed in the Address to the People of Great Britain Hostile to the Catholic Church, pp. 210-218; Title Page Facsimile; Lettre Addressée Aux Habitans de La Province de Quebec Ci-devant Le Canada de la Part Du Congrès Général de L'Amérique Septentrionale Tenu a Philadelphie. (Philadelphia, 1774). Ibid. p. 215.

"Samuel Adams, *Writings*, i, 201, 203.

"*Am. Cath. Hist. Researches*, xv (1898), p. 74; Diary of Richard Smith delegate from New Jersey in Continental Congress, 1776:

"Feb. 14. A Proposition was mentioned for sending Two of our Body to Canada with Charles Carrol, Esq., and John Carol, a popish priest, both of Maryland, with a view of confirming the Friendship and to induce a coincidence with our Measures.

Feb. 15. Some Gent. were selected to go into Canada, viz.: Dr. Franklin, Samuel Chase and Charles Carrol, of Carrollton, Esq., together with Rev. John Carol." (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, 1, p. 502.)

"*Am. Hist. Rev.*, Oct., 1923; Vol. xix, pp. 60 sq.

"Cardinal Castelli to Bishop Brind, Sept. 7, 1771; Quebec Archdioc. Archives, Correspondence de Rome Manuscrite, 1703-1825, listed by Frederick J. Zweirlein, Archives of the Archbishopric in Parker, *Guide to the Materials for U. S. History in Canadian Archives*, p. 268; Father Farmer to P. Bernard Well, S. J. (Mascouche, Canada), April 22, 1773; Quebec Archdioc. Archives: *Estatz Unis, Diocèse De Boston et De Philadelphie*, p. 124, listed by F. J. Z., Ibid. p. 252. Father Farmer wrote, in part:

"In duabus solum ex pluribus Anglicis Provinciis sou Colonis toleratur Religio Catholica, scilicet in Marylandia et Pennsylvania. In hac quidem vi Diplomatis Regii fundatori Coloniae dati, in illa vero ex antiqua potius possessione quam ullo jure. In Pennsylvania vi diplomatis regii toleratur

omnis religio, non quod publice unusquisque ritus religionis suae possit peragere, sed in hoc sensu, quod privatim illos exercero quodque a nomine ullo modo compelli possit ad qualemcumque exercitium alterius Religionis. Cum tamen Juramentum quod exigi solet ab iis qui adscribi subditi regni natis volunt, aut qui officia varia in Republica subeunt, renunciationem Religionis Catholicae contineat, nemo nostrorum favores illos obtinere potest. In Pennsylvania Missionarii modo sunt quinque. Anglus unus & quatuor Germani, qui parvulas congregationes hominum plerumque pauperum mire per Provinciam dispersas non exiguo labore excolunt. In Philadelphia tamen, ubi duo missionarii resident, major est anumarum numerus ex variarum nationum hominibus compositus. In Marylandia & plures sunt missionarii & major meliorque fidelium numerus, sed, ut jam dixi, minore libertate gaudent quam ea est qua nos hic fruimur. Porro Missionarii omnes sunt ex nostra Societate, superior vero in Marylandia residet. * * *

"Ex dictis facile est perspicere Religionem Catholicam longe alio jure et libertate exerceri in Canada quam apud nos. Unde omnino verisimile est, adventum ad nos Rev. — et — magnas commotiones suscitaturum fore, cum periculo, ut ipsis quibus modo fruimur exiguis privilegiis privemur, praesertim in Marylandia ubi . . . exercitium privatim Religionis nostrae nullo jure fundatur. Quae cum ante aliquot annos Vicarius Ap. Londonensis in animo haberet, sive visitationis sive confirmationis causa mittere huc aliquem, Domini Marylandici sub cura nostrorum constituti scriptis ad Rev. M. Vicarium literis de imminente periculo suo ipsum admonuerunt; unde factum est ut praedictus Vicarius . . . a proposito cessaret. Hoc non ita intelligi velim, quod non ipsi plurimum desideremus, ut confirmatio fidelibus hic natis dari possit, sed quod plane ex genio praecipue Americanorum perspectum habemus, id tuto fieri non posse a persona in dignitate constituta. Incredibile enim est, quantum sit ubicumque locorum in America apud A catholicos odium vel ipsius nominis episcopi, etiam ejus qui membrum sit Ecclesiae quam vocant Anglicanam. Unde plurimi rem indignam censore quod Canadensibus Episcopus concessus fuerit; et cum jam plurimis annis agitur in Anglia, ut Episcopus Protestans communionis Anglicanae in hisce provinciis unus stabiliretur, tot tamen obstacula ex genio praecipue Americanorum . . . sunt ut nihil adhuc effectum fuerit. Vix etiam mihi persuadere possum, quod Rev. — facultatem a Praeside Canadensi aut Rege obtenturus sit, potestatem ullam extra Provincias ad Canadense imperium olim pertinentes, et vi pactorum modo Anglis cessas exercendi.

²²*Am. Cath. Hist. Researches*, xiv (1897), p. 27.

²³Leonard, *Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton* (1918), p. 256 sq.

²⁴Declaration of Independence: *Legislative Manual of the State of New York* (1896), p. 15.

²⁵Sir Robert Filmer (1680), *Patriarcha*, pp. 1, 4; Cf. Gaillard Hunt, "Virginia Declaration of Rights and Cardinal Bellarmine," in the *Am. Cath. Hist. Rev.*, iii (1917), p. 287; cf. Alfred O'Rahilly, "The Catholic Origin of Democracy," in *Studies*, March and June, 1919; cf. also Joseph Husslein, S.J., "Democracy, a 'Popish' Innovation," in *America*, xxi, 338 sqq. (July 5, 1919). Mr. C. H. Van Tyne, "Influence of the Clergy, and of Religious and Sectarian Forces on the American Revolution, emphasizes the influence of the Calvinistic Clergy in Colonial America, who reasoned to the right of revolution against tyranny 'from the natural freedom of man, basing their arguments upon the ideas of Milton, Sydney and Locke.'" (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, xix, p. 50). The ideas of Milton were common property of the Puritan pulpit in England, and Selden's *Table Talk*, under the heading "Books," has the following statement: "These Puritan preachers, if they have anything good, they have taken it out of Popish books, though they will not acknowledge it for fear of displeasing the people." (*The Works of John Selden, Esq.*, Vol. iii, containing his English Tracts, ed., London, 1726, p.

1707). Charles I, in 1639, made the specific charge that the Presbyterian arguments "are taken almost verbatim out of Bellarmine and Suarez." Both Sidney and Locke wrote their pertinent works against Filmer, the former especially pointing out the reasonableness of the school divines in maintaining the natural freedom of man (*Discourses on Government*, p. 155). A good exposition of Bellarmine's teaching is given by Ernest Timpe, *Die Kirchenpolitischen Ansichten und Bestrebungen des Kardinal Bellarmin*, Breslau, 1905.

*Cf. "The Story of Commodore John Barry, Father of the American Navy" in Martin I. J. Griffin, *Catholics and the American Revolution*, ii, pp. 1-96. Volume III of the same work gives the accounts of the services on land of two distinguished foreign Catholics: (a) General Count Casimir Pulaski, the father of the American Cavalry; First Commander of Washington's Cavalry; Commander of the Independent Pulaski's Legion. *Jesus! Mary! Joseph! His Dying Words at Siege of Savannah, October, 1779*, pp. 1-128 (illustrated); (b) General Thaddeus Kosciuszko, Engineer of the defences of the Delaware, of the battlefield of Saratoga, of the defences of West Point, and of the operations of the Northern Army under General Gates and of the Southern Army under General Greene, the Father of the American Artillery Service of the United States, pp. 129-216.

*Cf. In the oration delivered in the House of Delegates, July 4, 1833, by Rev. Charles Constantine Pise, D.D., Chaplain of the United States Senate, he said, in part:

"Notwithstanding the great talents of our countrymen, which the emergencies of the times called forth and excited; notwithstanding their devotedness, determination and patriotism, our cause would have been doubtful had it not been supported by the power and virtue of foreign volunteers.

"The conduct of France and Poland in our regard ought to silence forever the voice of prejudice, which, even at the present day, proclaims the Roman Catholic religion hostile to the genius of republican institutions. And I rejoice that so auspicious an occasion presents itself in which I may adduce, in refutation of such groundless assertions, the actions of the Catholic countries and Catholic individuals. Among the signers of the American independence, Carroll was a Catholic—and not in theory merely, but a rigid, practical, devoted member of the Catholic Church. In his old age he looked back with the calmest complacency on the part which he took during the revolution; as he sank into the grave he was supported by the consolations of religion and cheered to the end by the recollection of his youthful efforts to disenthral his country. One of the commissioners appointed to treat with the Canadians was the Rev. John Carroll, a Roman Catholic priest, and afterwards first Archbishop of Baltimore. He did not deem it incompatible with his character, repugnant to his religious principles to unite with Chase, Franklin, and Charles Carroll in the cause of liberty—not, indeed, to rouse the Canadians to rebel, but to persuade them to remain neutral during the contest and the struggle. I mention these facts not in the spirit of sectarian triumph, but as a refutation of the assertion, which is so frequently made, and by some may, perhaps, be believed, that the nature of our religion precludes the love of liberty—that our dependence on a foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction subjects us to foreign domination.

"Was it not stated—I regret to be obliged to speak of myself individually, but the subject and the occasion will be my apology—was it not circulated through the press as an argument against my election to the Chaplaincy of the Senate, that I am a subject to the Pope; that I had made an oath of allegiance to him as a temporal lord; and that certain honors have been conferred on me which exclude me from the birthrights of my country. Shall I contradict all the assertions? Is it necessary before such an assembly for me to declare that I know no temporal connection existing

between myself and the Pope? I acknowledge no allegiance to his temporal power; I am no subject of his dominions; I have sworn no fealty to his throne; but I am, as all Americans glory to be, independent of all foreign temporal authority; devoted to freedom, to unqualified toleration, to republican institutions. America is our country; her laws are our safeguard; her tribunals our appeal; her Chief magistrate our national head; to all of which we are subject and obedient, in accordance with the injunctions of our religion, which commands us to give honor where honor is due—to be subject to the powers that are—and to give unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's." (*Catholic Expositor and Literary Magazine*, July, 1842, eds.: Very Rev. Felix Varela, D.D., and Rev. Charles Constantine Pise, D.D.)

²²Cf. Papinian's "Address to the People of New York," No. IX, in the *Royal Gazetteer* of New York, July 17, 1779:

"To speak against Popery, which is the religion of France, would draw as severe persecution from many of the most zealous abettors of Congress, as to speak against Congress itself. They will not permit a word to be said to the disadvantage of Popery. In very many of the districts of the continent—and in some of New England—where Popery was formerly detested, and scarcely a Papist was to be seen, numbers of Popish books are now dispersed and read with avidity. I could name a member of the rebel council in one of the New England colonies, who was formerly considered as a zealous Protestant dissenter, who not long since harangued a large assembly of people on some of the disputed points between Protestants and Papists: Such as the invocation of saints, Purgatory, transsubstantiation, etc.; after palliating each of these, straining the sense to put the most favorable and least offensive construction on them, and softening them with as much art as the most subtle disciple of Loyola could use, he finally declared he *saw nothing amiss or erroneous in them*; and his audience seemed wonderfully pleased and edified. I could name another Protestant dissenter, whose antipathy to Popery seemed formerly to border on enthusiasm, yet who lately declared his wish to *see a Popish priest settled in every county throughout America*." (*Am. Cath. Hist. Researches*, xxvi, 58).

Congress itself attended Mass, when it was offered May 8, 1780, in Philadelphia, for Don Juan de Miralles, the Spanish agent, if not minister, who died at Washington's camp at Morristown, April 29, 1780. At the end of the war, R. P. Seraphin Bandol, Recollet, delivered the address "to Congress, the Supreme Executive Council, and the Assembly of Pennsylvania, etc., etc., who were invited by his Excellency, the Minister of France, to attend in the Roman Catholic Church of Philadelphia, during the celebration of Divine Service and thanksgiving for the capture of Lord Cornwallis." (Printed November, 1781); cf. Martin I. J. Griffin, *Catholics and the American Revolution*, iii, 247 sq., 290; also Shea, *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, pp. 172-177. Griffin lists the chaplains of the French navy in the American Revolution, o. c. iii, 294-301; also the chaplains of the French army in the American Revolution, *Ibid.* pp. 294-302.

²³Facsimile of the Reply of Washington in *Am. Cath. Hist. Researches*, xxviii, 296.

²⁴Cf. Miller, *Legal Qualifications for Office*, Am. Hist. Assoc. Reports, 1899, i, 89-153. New Hampshire did not abolish religious tests as qualifications for office until 1877 (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, July, 1906, xi, 970).

²⁵*Legislative Manual of State of New York* (1896), p. 43.

²⁶The outrage was committed on Father John Bapst, S. J., at Ellsworth, Maine, October 14, 1854, in accordance with a resolution adopted July 8, 1854, by the Know Nothings after they had blown up the Catholic school with gun powder, broken the windows of the rectory and of the church, which last they later attempted to burn down. The resolution declared

"that if John Bapst, S. J., be found again on Ellsworth soil we will provide for him, and try on an entire suit of new clothes, such as cannot be found at the shops of any tailor (*sic*), and then when thus apparelled he be presented with a free ticket to leave Ellsworth upon the first railroad operation that may go into effect." When they caught him in the house of a Catholic, Mr. Kent, they carried him on a sharp rail to a lonely place, stripped him naked, bound him to a tree, having smeared him with tar and feathers. They then piled brush around him and attempted to set it afire, but their matches gave out. The sheriff finally arrived on the scene and dispersed the mob at the point of a pistol. Cf. Rev. Gerald C. Treacy, S. J., "Father Bapst, S. J., and the Ellsworth Outrage," in the U. S. Cath. Hist. Soc. *Hist. Records and Studies*, 1920, pp. 7-19.

"The Ursuline Convent at Charlestown, Massachusetts, was burned by a mob on the night of August 11, 1834. Bishop Benedict Fenwick, of Boston, in writing to Mgr. Signay, Bishop of Quebec, August 27, 1834, called it "the most unparalleled outrage ever recorded in the annals of civilized man." The details he gives of the event in the letter are certainly bad enough:

"Sister Mary St. John, thirteen years in the convent, was seized with the brain fever, and in her delirium left the house and went over to a Protestant neighbor's, from which she was conveyed to another neighbor's four miles into the country. I immediately went out and brought her back to the convent . . . she was so far restored in four or five days that she was able to resume her classes. The mortal enemies of the convent thought this circumstance of the *flight* of a Nun . . . too favorable to their diabolical purpose. Accordingly, every means was employed to circulate reports that this Nun was detained in the convent against her will; that she was even confined in a dungeon, etc. . . . Fanatical preachers likewise lent every aid in their power the following Sunday to decry conventional institutions generally. Thus were the people worked up to a frenzy; meetings were held by the rabble in Charlestown, at which it was decreed to destroy not only the convent, but likewise the Catholic churches in Charlestown and Boston . . . The good ladies of the convent were taken by surprise with fifty-five children in the dead of the night and ordered out of the house. At this time (12 o'clock at night), not less than 2,000 ruffians had surrounded it, bearing in their hands flaming torches. The doors were shortly after broken in by axes, when many rushed in and began to pillage. The nuns, with the children, escaped through the back door which led into the garden, and had not time to take anything with them but the clothes they had on. In a few moments afterwards the convent was set on fire in twenty different places at once, as well as all the outbuildings; and all were consumed. Even the Blessed Sacrament was taken by them and scattered over the fields, some particles only of which were afterwards recovered. After destroying the house and everything in it that was not pillaged, these monsters in human shape went to the tomb at the bottom of the garden, tore out and broke open the coffins, and exposed the dead bodies of five or six nuns to the gaze of the rabble, using all the while the most abominable language. Early the following morning I sent carriages in quest of the scattered nuns, who had found shelter in the adjacent houses, and brought them all safe into the city. None of them have experienced any hurt. They at present reside with the Sisters of Charity, who have a house in Boston. They have lost everything in the world. Their loss is about \$40,000." Archdiocesan Archives of Quebec: *Etats Unis*; *Diocese de Boston et de Philadelphie*, p. 66. The Ursulines came originally from Quebec, to which they again returned in course of the year following the outrage. Documents relating to the burning of the Charlestown convent are printed in *The Works of*

the Right Rev. John England, Vol v, 232-347 (Baltimore, 1849; these are not in the new edition.)

"The Legislature of Massachusetts, February 15, 1855, authorized and instructed a committee "to visit and examine theological seminaries, boarding schools, academies, nunneries, convents and other institutions of a like character." This was done on the pretense of the highest morality, but a member of the committee went from town to town, from hotel to hotel with a woman that was not his wife, and that at State expense. The whole business was denounced by the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, and one of its editors, Charles Hale, issued "A Review of the Proceedings of the Nunnery Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature." The committee ceased to operate on being thus discredited. Nevertheless the Georgia Legislature passed a Convent Inspection Bill, August, 1916. The same kind of a law is also in operation in Florida. In fact, the old South of the United States which organized the Ku Klux Klan mainly for the intimidation of negroes after the Civil War, has been engaged, since the World War, in reviving this secret society for the repression of "Papists." When efforts were recently made to transplant the anti-Catholic movement to New York City, Mayor Hylan informed the agitators that the great city was not the soil for such un-American bigotry.

"Bishop J. Roosevelt Bayley, September 6, etc., 1854, in his *Register of the Diocese of Newark*:

"Yesterday a procession of Protestant societies through Newark. (Marginal note). It was an 'Orange Association,' known under the name of the 'American Protestant Association.' Some person from among the crowd at the corner of Shipman and William street, having thrown a stone at them, they immediately made an assault upon persons in the crowd, firing pistols and using daggers, and then proceeded to attack the German Catholic Church, which was close by, and destroyed anything they could lay their hands on. The most false statements were immediately published, throwing the whole blame upon the Irish Catholics. It was stated that the priest and twenty men commenced the disturbance by firing on the procession from the church, etc. The examination, however, before the coroner's jury, though conducted most unfairly, tended to put an end to these lies, and the newspapers were finally obliged to acknowledge that the Catholics were not to blame and that no stones were thrown nor shots fired from the church. (Marginal note: 'The stone, which was made an excuse for the disturbance, was thrown by one of themselves.') One of the most malicious statements in regard to the matter appeared in the *New York Courier and Enquirer* of the 6th. I wrote a letter to the editor, which he published with some comments. The Mayor, having done nothing in the matter, the Governor of the state issued a proclamation, offering a reward for the discovery of the murderers of McCarthy and the spoilers of the church. The Rev. Mr. McQuaid exerted himself very much in the whole affair, and it was chiefly owing to his exertions that we obtained any justice at all; a résumé of the whole affair may be found in the *Freeman's Journal* of September 16. McDermott, who was also wounded, died afterwards. Though he had four or five stabs in the back and a piece of lead in his breast bone, the Coroner's Jury said he died of *cholera*. (Marginal note: 'We obtained no reparation from the city; we were obliged to repair the church, take care of the widows and orphans ourselves. The ringleader was caught in some machinery and torn to pieces at Williamsburg; another fell from a building and was killed instantly at Jersey City. They were well-known, but no attempt was made to arrest them.')" o. c. p. 22; Ms. in Newark Diocesan Archives in Seton Hall College.

The truth was fully proclaimed by the *New York Tribune*, September 8, 1854, under the heading: "The Newark Murder and Sacrilege":

"That church stands fairly exculpated from all offense and its devasta-

tion is an unprovoked and shameful outrage, which reflects great discredit on Newark and belligerent Protestantism. And it is worthy of note that, while this is the fifth or sixth Catholic edifice which has been destroyed or devastated by mob violence in our country, *there is no instance on record wherein a Protestant house of worship has been ravaged by Catholics.*"

Two of the churches, St. Michael's and St. Augustine's, together with a rectory, seminary, library building, a Sisters' house, a fire house (Hibernia Hose), and a large number of houses inhabited by Irish Catholics, were burned by native American mobs in Philadelphia, May 7-8, 1844, so that Bishop Francis Patrick Kenrick felt it his duty "to suspend the exercises of public worship in the Catholic churches, which still remain, until it can be resumed with safety, and we can enjoy our constitutional right to worship God according to the dictates of conscience." *The Spirit of the Times*, Philadelphia, May 12, 1844, ed. Mr. Dusolle, published on the occasion, "Thoughts for the People," from which the following is taken:

"Look at the crumbled ruins of Kensington, and at the blackened bones of the slaughtered that lie mixed up with the still smoking cinders. Look at what is left of the frowning walls of St. Augustine, upon one of which, though begrimed with smoke, is still visible the ominous words, 'THE LORD SEETH,' as if addressed to the smitten conscience of every beholder. Look at the Catholic clergy walking our streets in disguise, fearful of recognition. Look at the vultures tearing open the graves of the dead at St. Michael's and breaking the silent tomb-stones in demoniac rage. Look at these things, and if you have the courage, say: 'All this was done in the Republic of America! This was done by men who boasted that they were natives of the 'Land of Liberty.' This was done in the name of the Bible. This was done to glorify the flag of the Union.'" (Cf. *Cath. Hist. Researches*, xxviii (1911), pp. 231-233.)

"Scisco, *Political Nativism in New York State*, considers the only Know Nothing oaths "which seem clearly authentic" those revised by the National Council of Know Nothings at Cincinnati, November 15, 1854, although he admits that a set of oaths said to have been used in Virginia in 1854 may possibly be those actually used by the Order before the Cincinnati ritual. The first degree oath of the Cincinnati ritual expressly bound Know Nothing members not to "vote or give your influence for any man for any office in the gift of the people, unless he be an American born citizen, in favor of Americans ruling America, nor if he be a Roman Catholic." The second degree oath made them swear in addition "that, if it may be done legally, you will, when elected or appointed to any official station conferring on you the power to do so, remove all foreigners, aliens, or Roman Catholics from office or place, and that you will in no case appoint such to any office or place in your gift." o. c. p. 135; pp. 135-136.

Know Nothings issued their Declaration of Principles in the spring of 1855, and their platform in the autumn of the same year. The former declared against "sectarian influence in our legislation or the administration of American laws," but the following clause clearly showed what was intended; it proclaimed "hostility to the assumptions of the Pope through the Bishops, Priests and Prelates of the Roman Catholic Church, here in a Republic sanctified by Protestant blood." Nor was any one deceived by the declaration for "thorough reform in the naturalization laws" or for "free and liberal institutions for all sects and classes with the Bible, God's Holy Word, as a universal text book." The platform had a plank against "proscription of persons on account of religious opinions," but also this did not prevent an immediate declaration of "hostility to the assumptions of the papal power through the bishops, prelates, priests, or ministers of the Roman Catholic Church as anti-republican in principle and dangerous to the liberties of the people." These were to be further protected, as in the Declaration of Principles, by "thorough reform in the naturalization laws

of the Federal Government" and by "free and reliable institutions for the education of all classes of the people, with the Bible as a text-book in the Common Schools." The hypocrisy of Know Nothingism was equalled, if not surpassed, in the demand of the platform for "the enactment of laws for the protection of the purity of the ballot box by the state." o. c. p. 143; p. 151.

It was precisely on this last score that there was a Grand Jury investigation of Know Nothingism in Rochester. Five Grand Jurors had reasons of their own for making a minority report. The majority report, signed by fifteen jurors, has these significant passages:

"The Grand Jury have been much embarrassed in their investigation by the refusal of witnesses to answer the questions put to them as to their proceedings in secret session on the ground that a disclosure of those facts would render them *infamous*, and in other cases the witnesses claimed protection on the ground that answers would *criminate* themselves.

"Having thus been deprived of the full disclosure of facts, no individual cases have been presented by us, and the jury beg, therefore, leave to make this general presentment against such oaths and combinations that are, in their opinion, a direct violation of the statute in relation to elections, as the law was designed to protect and guard every elector in a free and voluntary choice in casting his ballot, and to allow every citizen otherwise worthy, to be a proper subject of such suffrage. We believe from the testimony before us that such proceedings strike at the foundation of individual liberty of action and tend directly to destroy the great and cardinal principles of our institutions as founded by our forefathers; that our institutions can only continue to exist by the free and uncontrolled action of the citizens, and that all such restraints and obligations are destructive to an elective and free government. All of which has been duly adopted and is most respectfully submitted" to the Honorable Court of Oyer and Terminer of the County of Monroe, State of New York. (*Rochester Daily Union*, May 3, 1855.) Nevertheless, a pro-Know Nothing tendency is manifest in such books as Scisco, *Political Nativism of New York*, and Schmeckebier, *History of the Know Nothing Party in Maryland* (John Hopkins University Studies, April-May, 1899).

¹⁷Scisco, o. c. p. 167.

¹⁸Cf. Laws of New York, 78 Session, 1855, Chap. 230, p. 338 sq.:

4. In the event such congregation or society shall not be incorporated as aforesaid, then and in that case, the title of such real estate shall vest in the people of the State of New York, in the same manner and with the same effect as if the person holding the legal title thereto had died intestate and without heirs capable of inheriting such real estate.

5. Whenever title to any real estate shall vest in the people of the State of New York, under and by virtue of the last preceding section, it shall be under the charge of the commissioners of the land office of the State of New York, and it shall be their duty, and they are hereby authorized, upon their being satisfied that the congregation which had used, occupied or enjoyed such real estate for the purpose of religious worship, prior to the death of the person or persons on whose decease the title thereto vested in this state, has been duly incorporated under and according to the provisions of the act first named in the second section of this act.

"An act to provide for the incorporations of religious societies" and the acts amendatory thereof, or under the act entitled "An act for the incorporation of societies to establish free churches, passed April 13, 1854, and upon the production to them of a certified certificate of incorporation, under the hand and official seal of the clerk of the county in whose office the same is recorded, to grant and convey such real estate, and all right, title and interest of the people of the State of New York, wherein and

thereto, to said corporation, which shall thereupon be vested with the right, title and interest which became vested in the State by virtue of this act."

"The Incorporation Law in the Revised Statutes used in 1855 went back to a law originally passed April 6, 1874, though usually dated under the revision of April 5, 1813. It was entitled "An act to enable all Religious Denominations in this State to appoint trustees, who shall be a body corporate for the purpose of taking care of the temporalities of their respective congregations and for the purposes therein mentioned." It was really only fitted for churches of the Congregational type. The following denominations, therefore, obtained special laws for themselves in accordance with their constitution and discipline: Dutch Reformed, 1788; The Protestant Episcopal, the Presbyterian, 1822; the Society of Friends and the Methodists, 1839. However, the Catholic petition (1852) to enable bishops to hold church property in trust for the churches was denied.

"*Works of the Most Reverend John Hughes, Archbishop of New York* (ed. Kehoe) I, 24; cf. also II, 368-373; 539-542.

"It is the present incorporation law, making the bishop, the vicar-general, the pastor, and two lay trustees the corporation of each church incorporated. The Apostolic See has highly recommended this incorporation law in preference to the Corporation Sole.

"*Legislative Manual of State of New York* (1896), p. 45.

"*Ibid.* p. 64.

"The old condition of affairs is well illustrated in the protest by Father Daniel Moore, St. Mary's Church, Rochester, which appeared January 26, 1861, in the *Rochester Daily Union and Advertiser*:

"I am led to entertain these sentiments and to express them likewise principally by the contemplation of the odious tyranny to which over twenty thousand Catholics in this community are subjected by the bigoted portion of the population in Monroe County. I do not refer to the legalized proselytism of the House of Refuge, where a few gentlemen are invested with the power of prohibiting the exercise of the Catholic Religion to about two hundred children. Nor to the House for Idle and Truant Children, wherein every poor little vagrant is imprisoned, and the Catholic priest is also virtually debarred. Nor to the Friendless Home, where the dying girl is refused the last consolations of religion. Nor to many other illiberal acts of our poor-law officials.

"I call the attention of Catholics of the city solely to the atrocious conduct of the well paid gentlemen, whom the law invests with the irresponsible authority of superintendents of the poor. These three gentlemen, more powerful than the triumvirate of pagan Rome, and more unscrupulous than the British Star Chamber, have the astounding audacity in face of this civilized community to forbid me giving Catholic instruction to the eighty or ninety Catholic children whom poverty and crime have congregated in that whitewashed sepulchre, called the Monroe County Alms-house! Herein, I am of the opinion, the Catholics of this city have a good subject for contemplation and a large reservoir for their abundant charity."

After the formation of the Diocese of Rochester, with Bishop McQuaid as its first Bishop, regular services were instituted in the County Alms House in a room that Mr. Loder, superintendent, placed at the disposal of the Bishop. The first mass was said there Sunday, February 11, 1872. (Cf. *West End Journal and Orphan's Advocate*, March, 1872, p. 5; also the Report of the Protestant Chaplain, the Rev. Dr. Van Ingen, to the supervisors January 8, 1873, in the *Rochester Union and Advertiser*, January 8, 1873).

The first attempt made under Bishop McQuaid to obtain Catholic instruction and worship for the Catholic boys confined in the House of Refuge (November-December, 1869; January, 1870) failed, just as the previous attempt made under Bishop Timon of Buffalo, August 21, 1855, had

failed. (Cf. *Rochester Daily Union*, June 17, 1856; also *Rochester Union and Advertiser*, November 1, 1869, and January 5, 1870).

New tactics were adopted in 1874, when Catholic parents and guardians of the Catholic boys petitioned the managers for recognition of their constitutional right to freedom of religious profession and worship. The minority report, signed by William Purcell, with a thorough treatment of the issue from the legal and moral point of view, reinforced by precedents from "the practice and experience of other reformatories and other prisons both in this and other countries" won the day over the majority report, signed by E. R. Andrews and Louis Chapin. The requested Catholic worship was granted in the November meeting, 1874, and two chaplains, one Protestant and the other Catholic, were elected in the March meeting, 1875. (Cf. *Rochester Union and Advertiser*, November 30, 1874; March 17, 1875).

"*Laws of New York*. 115th Session, 1892. Vol. I, p. 805 sq.

Chapter 396: An Act to provide for the better security of the freedom of religious worship in certain institutions.

Approved by the Governor April 30, 1892.

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

Section 1. All persons who may have been or may hereafter be committed to or taken charge of by any of the institutions mentioned in this act are hereby declared to be and are entitled to the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference.

Section 2. This act shall be deemed to apply to every incorporated or unincorporated society for the reformation of its inmates as well as houses of refuge, penitentiaries, protectories, reformatories, or other penal institutions continuing to receive for its use, either public moneys, or a per capita sum from any municipality for the support of inmates.

Section 3. The rules and regulations established for the government of the institutions mentioned in this act shall recognize the right of the inmates to the free exercise of their religious belief, and to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences, in accordance with the provisions of the constitution, and shall allow religious services on Sunday and for private ministration to the inmates in such manner as may best carry into effect the spirit and intent of this act, and be consistent with the proper discipline and management of the institution; and the inmates of such institutions shall be allowed such religious services and spiritual ministration from some recognized clergyman of the denomination or church which said inmates may respectively prefer or to which they may have belonged prior to their being confined in such institutions; but if any such inmates shall be minors under the age of sixteen years, then such services, advice and spiritual ministration shall be allowed in accordance with the methods and rites of the particular denomination or church which the parents or guardians of such minors may select; such services to be had and such advice and ministration given within the buildings or grounds where the inmates are required by law to be confined in such manner and at such hours as will be in harmony, as aforesaid, with the discipline and the rules and regulations of the institution and secure to such inmates free exercise of their religious beliefs in accordance with the provisions of this act. In case of a violation of any provision of this act, any person feeling himself aggrieved thereby may institute proceedings in the supreme court of the district where such institution is situated, which is hereby authorized and empowered to enforce the provisions of this act.

Section 4. This act shall take effect immediately.

"The editor of the *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, writing in defence of the Common Schools as then constituted, declared openly: "We cannot deProtestantize the schools to the offence of Protestants and the

augmented hostility of Catholics. It would be folly to dispense with the sacred chapter, the humble prayer, and the spiritual hymn unless some opposition is to be conciliated thereby." This was a frank acknowledgment that the Public Schools of Rochester were Protestant in religion. On the other hand, it is true that Catholics could not be reconciled to Public Schools by making them godless. (*Democrat and Chronicle* cited in *Rochester Union and Advertiser*, March 26, 1872.)

"Bishop McQuaid's reply to the editor of the *Democrat and Chronicle*, March 22, 1872, cited in *Rochester Union and Advertiser*, March 26, 1872; cf. also Bishop McQuaid, *Christian Free Schools*, *passim*. This is a pamphlet, containing when published in 1892: two lectures on "Free Christian Schools" delivered in Corinthian Hall, Rochester, December 8, 1870, and March 15, 1872; "The Public School Question as Understood by a Catholic Citizen" before the Free Religious Association (Boston), February 13, 1876; "Religion in Schools," *North American Review*, April, 1881; "Religious Teaching in Schools," *Forum*, December, 1889.

"Bishop McQuaid, *Christian Free Schools*, p. 46.

"John C. Spencer, Secretary of State and Superintendent of Schools. Report to Legislature of New York, 1840; Bishop McQuaid, *Christian Free Schools*, pp. 9, 25, *passim*.

"The *Rochester Union and Advertiser*, June 8, 1875: Minutes of Meeting, Board of Education, June 7, 1875.

"The *Public Schools of Rochester*, 1875, Superintendent's Report, p. 56 sqq.

"Interview of a reporter of the *Buffalo Courier* with Bishop McQuaid: cited in *Rochester Union and Advertiser*, Nov. 26, 1875.

"Bishop McQuaid, *Christian Free Schools*, p. 11.

"*Legislative Manual of State of New York* (1896), p. 142

"The Board of Education, Monday, February 2, 1920:

"The importance of religious instruction both to the individual and to the country is generally recognized. By common consent, however, the free public school system of this country cannot teach religion. The responsibility for such instruction must rest upon the home and the church. But the public school can and should co-operate to the limit of its power with the home and the church to the end that the greatest possible number of our boys and girls may receive effective religious instruction.

"Under the single teacher plan of school organization that usually prevails in the elementary school, it is necessary that all pupils should remain in school during the entire day. But under the subject departmental plan of the upper high school, the subject group departmental plan of the junior high school, and the semi-departmental plan now operative in some of the elementary schools, it is practicable, under certain conditions, to allow pupils to leave the school for a period of religious instruction without thereby interfering with their normal school progress.

"Therefore, Be it resolved: That upon an approved application from any established religious body or society incorporated under the laws of the State of New York, the Board of Education co-operate in this work of religious instruction by excusing pupils for such instruction subject to the following provisions:

"1. Pupils shall be excused for religious instruction upon the written request of parents or guardians only.

"2. The religious body desiring to give such instruction shall file with the Board of Education a written application stating the time and qualifications of the instructor, and the location and nature of the facilities that have been provided for this instruction. It shall, furthermore, furnish such reports as the Board of Education may require."

This is a step in the right direction at least. The preamble of the resolution errs in its claim that by common consent the free public school

system cannot teach religion. The millions of Catholic citizens and many others have consented to this kind of a public school system, but they were overruled by a majority of voters.

"Nevertheless, Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul personally intervened in favor of the Republican party in the State of New York that had the majority in the Constitutional Convention which adopted the amendment forbidding all support of denominational, also therefore of parochial schools, out of public money. The Revised Constitution was submitted to the vote of the people in the November elections, 1894, and the Republican party was, therefore, glad to have the services of a Catholic Archbishop to get Catholic votes in support of this anti-Catholic measure. Bishop McQuaid, finally, denounced Archbishop Ireland's conduct from his Cathedral pulpit, November 25, 1894. Called to account for his act in publicly censuring an Archbishop, he wrote in part to Cardinal Ledochowski, the Prefect of the Propaganda:

"I felt it to be a duty of conscience to speak out publicly against the irregular doings of Mgr. Ireland. I was willing to expose myself to abuse, and even censure, in the hope of checking a growing danger to the Church. I am willing to suffer so that the Church can be guarded. Mgr. Ireland's offence was public, the Catholic laity were shocked and scandalized, the members of the Democratic Party, Catholic and non-Catholic, were angry beyond measure at this introduction of a new element, the paid services of a Catholic Archbishop, into political wranglings and warfare. The general silence seemed to them like acquiescence. They know now that Mgr. Ireland's political methods are not approved by all, unless the Holy See should decide that they are commendable." (c. February, 1895. Original draft in my possession).

On the failure of the Faribault and Stillwater schools, Archbishop Ireland came into full accord with Bishop McQuaid's school policy.

"*Legislative Manual of State of New York* (1896), p. 140 sq.

"*Revised Record of the Constitutional Convention of 1894*. Vol I passim. Cf. Index Vol. V, p. 1107 sq.: Sectarian Appropriations.

"Pamphlet: *Know Nothingism and the A. P. A.* (i. e. American Protestant Association), issued by a committee of liberal minded representative clergymen of all denominations (1894).

"Decision of Court of Appeals, Albany, New York, January 29, 1904: *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, January 30, 1904.

THE HISTORICAL ESSAY CONTEST

The Council of the Society, having decided that the success of the two intercollegiate historical competitions already held warranted the offering of a third prize, the following circular letter was sent to the directors of the leading Catholic educational institutions of the country:

New York, November 20, 1920.

The United States Catholic Historical Society, encouraged by the widespread interest in its intercollegiate historical competitions, invites your co-operation in the success of the third contest of the series. It is with the utmost satisfaction that the Society has received a very general assurance that its efforts in this direction have increased interest in Catholic scholarship and in the preservation of the details of Catholic American history.

The competition, as before, will be open to undergraduate students of Catholic universities, colleges and seminaries complying with the following conditions. The subject chosen for the third competition is: Margaret Brent, the First Suffragist, and Some Other Women Leaders in Catholic Annals."

Margaret Brent, of Maryland, was the first American woman to claim the right of suffrage as a tax-paying property holder, insisting that her sex was no bar to the fullest political equality with her fellow-colonists. She amply proved her executive ability and her efficiency as a leader in the affairs of the colony during one of its most troublesome eras.

Following Margaret Brent, during the Colonial and the later constructive period of the Republic, and all through the last century, there have been other Catholic women, who, as educators, founders of religious communities, philanthropists, and social workers, have left a record that made womanhood, the Church and the Nation their debtors.

Justice is seldom done to their careers, even the bare outlines of which seem to be unknown to the recorders who chronicle the accomplishments of those selected for the roll of honor of great American women.

The prize for the third Intercollegiate Historical Essay Contest will be awarded to the writer who will offer the best presentation of the lives and work of the six most notable women in Catholic

American annals. The selection of this group will indicate the accuracy and the breadth of the writer's historical instinct. Its description should be marked by the three elements of real research: Specialization, time, place and idea grouping, as well as investigation of all the available sources of information.

Every contestant must be certified by the faculty as an undergraduate student in course, of the institution to which affiliation is claimed.

The Ms., which must be typewritten, must contain no fewer than 2,500 words, and may not exceed 5,000 words. It must be received at the office of the United States Catholic Historical Society, 346 Convent Avenue, New York, before May, 1921. The papers will be passed on by the Editing Committee of the Historical Society, and the successful essay will be awarded a prize of one hundred dollars and published in the United States Catholic Historical Society's *RECORDS AND STUDIES*.

We earnestly request your kind assistance in bringing this project before the students of your institution.

Very truly yours,
STEPHEN FARRELLY,
President.

JOSEPH H. FARGIS,
Corresponding Secretary.

The general approval of this third offer of a prize has been most gratifying. The circular has been printed with special commendation in the Catholic press throughout the country, and the intimations received from the various educational centres are that the students have entered into the fields of research with an enthusiasm that promises the most valuable results.

THE GENERAL MEETING

A representative and very well pleased company assembled at the Catholic Club, on the evening of February 7, 1921, for the annual meeting of the United States Catholic Historical Society. The President, Stephen Farrelly, presided, and congratulated the members of the society on the very satisfactory results of its activities since the last general meeting.

The year 1920, he said, was one of great activity in all Catholic circles, rich in historic events that will make the year memorable in our annals and in the annals of all societies seeking the dissemination of Catholic truth. The achievements in charitable, educational and social works give evidence of what has been accomplished by great Catholic minds and the part played by the Catholic Church in the cause of peace and harmony throughout the world.

To our Society the year has brought more than the average success. Our financial affairs are in a most satisfactory condition, as is shown by the report of the Treasurer, and our membership roll has been enriched by the added names of a number of our most distinguished Catholic laymen, giving evidence that the value of our HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES, and the work done by our Editorial Committee have been fully appreciated. The prize offered last year in the intercollegiate contest for the best essay upon the subject of "Catholic Day" was awarded to Miss Marie Therese Marique of the College of Mount St. Vincent. On Commencement Day your President had the pleasure of presenting a purse with one hundred dollars in gold to the young lady, whose careful study and scholarly research so well deserved the prize.

The work for which our Society is specially organized has steadily progressed as will be seen by the members when they receive in a few days Volume XV of RECORDS AND STUDIES. Its pages will be found to include a number of very valuable additions to the printed chronicles of the connection of our fellow Catholics with the events of the past in our country.

As to the prize essay, it is with the utmost satisfaction that the Society has received a very general assurance that its efforts in this direction have increased interest in Catholic scholarship and in the preservation of the details of Catholic American history. A prize of one hundred dollars for the third Intercollegiate Historical Es-

say Contest will be awarded to the writer who will offer the best presentation of the lives and work of the six most notable women in Catholic American annals. The subject chosen for the third competition is: "Margaret Brent, the First Suffragist and Some Other Women Leaders in Catholic American Annals."

We must regret the absence this evening of our Honorary President, his Grace, Archbishop Hayes, who, as you know, is now in Rome. Before he left the city, however, he renewed the assurances of his good will for the Society and his hearty co-operation in all our efforts and best wishes for our future success.

The list of our departed members, I regret to say, is again notable. Since we last met it includes the names of Bishop Fitzmaurice, Monsignor Taaffe, Father Flannery, our vice-president, Dr. Thomas S. O'Brien, Judge Eugene A. Philbin and Messrs. Myles Tierney, John Deery and Daniel Daly. Our sorrow at their demise is now, as is our custom, made a part of the official record of this meeting.

For the historical feature of this evening's proceedings we were fortunate in having our invitation accepted by that distinguished publicist, poet and diplomat, the Hon. Maurice Francis Egan, who intended to speak on the career of that famous Catholic editor, James A. McMaster. The recent death of Mrs. Egan prevents his presence here tonight. He, however, has very kindly sent his paper which will now be read for you, and with the formal expression of our thanks for this valuable contribution to our RECORDS, I am sure, I voice your approval that there should also be included the tribute of our sincere sympathy in his great sorrow.

Dr. Egan's paper, "A Slight Appreciation of James Alphonse McMaster" (which is printed as the first contribution in this volume), was then read by the Recording Secretary, Mr. Peter Condon.

Brief impromptu remarks on it and on the work of the Society were made by the Rev. Richard H. Tierney, S. J., and Vice-president Percy J. King.

The report of the Treasurer, Henry Ridder, made a very satisfactory exhibit of the Society's finances.

The election of officers was then held with this result: Honorary President, the Most Rev. P. J. Hayes, D.D.; President, Stephen Farrelly; Vice-president, Percy J. King; Treasurer, Henry Ridder; Corresponding Secretary, Joseph H. Fargis, LL.D.; Record-

ing Secretary, Peter Condon, A.M.; Librarian, the Rev. Joseph F. Delany, D.D.; Trustees, the Right Rev. Monsignor Joseph F. Mooney, V.G., the Right Rev. Monsignor James H. McGean, LL.D., the Right Rev. Monsignor John F. Kearney, the Right Rev. Monsignor Henry A. Brann, D.D., Thomas F. Meehan, John G. Coyle, M.D., Francis J. Quinlan, M.D.; Councilors, the Rev. R. H. Tierney, S.J., Edward J. McGuire, LL.D., Thomas Hughes Kelly, William J. Amend, Arthur Kenedy, Arthur F. J. Rémy, Ph.D.

These new members were added to the roll: F. X. Sadlier, Richard B. Cavanagh and Detroit Public Library.

At the conclusion of the formal proceedings the social reception was thoroughly enjoyed by the members and their guests.

NECROLOGY

RIGHT REVEREND JOHN EDMUND FITZ MAURICE

The Rt. Rev. John Edmund Fitz Maurice, fourth Bishop of Erie, Pennsylvania, died on June 18, 1920, aged 81 years, after a long illness. Bishop Fitz Maurice was born in Ireland, January 8, 1840, and came here at an early age. He was educated at Georgetown University and at St. Charles Seminary, Philadelphia, where he was ordained priest in 1862. He was consecrated Titular Bishop of Amisus and coadjutor to Bishop Mullen of Erie, February 24, 1898, and succeeded to the See of Erie, September 19, 1899. For three years previous to his death he was incapacitated for active work and the affairs of the diocese were administered by his auxiliary, the Rt. Rev. John M. Gannon, who was transferred and succeeded to the vacant see in September, 1920.

* * *

RIGHT REV. MGR. THOMAS TAAFFE

The Right Rev. Monsignor Thomas Taaffe, pastor emeritus of St. Patrick's Church, Brooklyn, died on December 1, 1920. He was eighty-seven years of age and had been pastor of St. Patrick's Church for forty-seven years. Monsignor Taaffe was born in County Longford, Ireland. He was ordained in Dublin on June 14, 1863, and came to Brooklyn in August of that year, when he was sent to the Church of the Star of the Sea in Court street. In 1867 he was appointed pastor of the Church of Our Lady of Mercy. He remained there until 1872, when he was sent to St. Patrick's, where he remained until he retired in 1919. Pope Pius X. raised Father Taaffe to the dignity of a Monsignor in 1903.

* * *

REV. JOSEPH F. FLANNELLY

The Rev. Joseph F. Flannelly, permanent rector of Holy Cross Church, New York, died suddenly on October 14, 1920, after having attended a meeting at the Archbishop's house on Madison avenue. He was born in New Brighton, Staten Island, March 4, 1857. He attended the parochial school at New Brighton and Manhattan College, where he was graduated in 1876. He then

entered St. Joseph's Seminary at Troy, and was ordained on December 17, 1881. His first assignment was as an assistant to his brother, the Rev. William Flannelly, who was then pastor of St. Cecilia's Church. After the death of his brother he was transferred to the Church of the Guardian Angel, where he remained until his appointment as pastor at Dobb's Ferry. Here Father Flannelly built the Church of the Sacred Heart and made other improvements in the parish. In 1903 he was transferred to a city pastorate, St. Veronica's, in Christopher street. He built the parish school, and brought it to a high place among the parochial schools of the archdiocese. Following the death of Monsignor McCready in 1915, Father Flannelly was chosen to succeed him as permanent rector of the Church of the Holy Cross.

* * *

JOHN J. DEERY

John J. Deery, actively identified with many charitable, religious and social organizations, died on August 16, 1920, at his summer home at Easthampton, L. I., aged 63 years. Mr. Deery was the head of the John J. Deery Company, dealers in stone and marble, with large business interests in the United States, Italy and Canada. He was a member of the board of trustees of the Emigrant Industrial Savings Bank, and for a long time had been chairman of the executive committee. He was a member of the board of trustees of the Catholic Protectory and was president of the board of the Catholic Home Bureau, an institution established for the purpose of placing orphan children in good homes. He was also interested in St. Philip's Home and the Ozanam Society, and was an active member of the Catholic Club, the American Irish Historical Society, the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, the St. Joseph's Day Nursery, and the Knights of Columbus. Mr. Deery was born in New York City and attended St. Gabriel's and St. Michael's parochial schools, De La Salle Institute and St. Francis Xavier's College.

* * *

MYLES TIERNEY

Myles Tierney, for more than twenty years a member of the Society, died on January 13, at St. Vincent's Hospital, New York, from pneumonia and the infirmities of age. He was eighty years old. Mr. Tierney was prominently identified with many Catholic

charitable institutions and organizations in the New York Archdiocese, although he was a resident of Montclair, N. J. His business connections were largely in New Jersey, but he was vice-president of the Emigrant Industrial Savings Bank of New York.

Mr. Tierney was president of the board of managers of the New York Catholic Protectory; a member of the executive council of the St. Vincent de Paul Society; a member of the board of managers of the Mission of the Immaculate Virgin, the St. Joseph's Day Nursery, St. Vincent's Hospital, the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, and the American Irish Historical Society. He was a former trustee of St. Patrick's Cathedral and also a trustee of Calvary Cemetery and a prominent member of the Catholic Club. For many years he had taken a deep interest in the work of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, especially in its fresh-air work at Spring Valley, where he built a beautiful stone chapel for the children.

His benefactions were many, but so quietly did he give that his gifts were known only to himself and the recipients. He received the Papal honor of a Knight of St. Gregory in June, 1916. Mr. Tierney was born at Silver Lake, Pa., April 6, 1841, where he received a common school education. When he was eighteen years of age he came to Jersey City and engaged in the contracting business, in which he became one of the pioneer traction men of Hudson County. Mr. Tierney's greatest work as a contractor was the building of the Washington Bridge, New York, connecting Washington Heights with the Bronx. He also constructed the trestle of the Public Service Railway in Hoboken, and many buildings in Jersey City and Hoboken. Later he entered the banking business, and at the time of his death was president of the Hudson Trust Company of Hoboken, vice-president of the Emigrant Industrial Savings Bank of New York, a director of the New York Trust Company and also a director of the Commercial Trust Company of Jersey City. He was also vice-president of the Hackensack Water Company. Mr. Tierney was one of the original members of the New York Tenement House Commission appointed by Governor Roosevelt and one of the original members of the Board of Trustees of the Bellevue and Allied Hospitals.

DANIEL DALY

Daniel Daly, prominent for many years in New York's legal circles, died on March 18, 1920. His law studies were made in the office of Clark, Rapallo & Daly, the last named being his brother Eugene F., the firm that had the Vanderbilt railway interests in charge. He specialized in real estate procedure and was a recognized authority in litigation over riparian rights. His father, Timothy Daly, was a leader among the active New York Catholics of the early years of Archbishop Hughes' administration, when he was one of the famous ten Governors of the Alms House and prominent in the Carroll Hall campaign for the recognition of Catholic school work by the city authorities. Daniel Daly's sons, Major Paul Daly and Captain Daniel Daly, were distinguished officers in the New York contingent sent to France during the World War.

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